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THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS

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BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL AT WARWICK

Frontispiece

THE
CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS

AS SEEN IN ST. OSMUND'S RITE FOR THE CATHEDRAL OF SALISBURY

WITH DISSERTATIONS ON THE BELIEF AND RITUAL IN ENGLAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

By DANIEL ROCK, D.D.
CANON OF THE ENGLISH CHAPTER

A NEW EDITION IN FOUR VOLUMES

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PART THE FIRST

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CHAPTER VIII

Taught as all our Catholic forefathers were out of God's own word, as every one must be who meekly hearkens to it, how efficacious, through the free gift of Heaven, good works are, and that in the next world the souls of those who go thither loathing their faults and calling for pardon, may be loosened from their bonds and have their cleansing torments shortened by the hallowed deeds and prayers of the living; the Anglo-Saxons held that one among the several ways laid down in Holy Writ for soothing God's anger and hastening his forgiveness towards departed but sorrow-smitten sinners, was the pious labour of holy men in Christ's Church here on earth undertaken in behalf of the dead.[1] Like their present Catholic

[1] In Sacris Scripturis legendum est quod Omnipotens Deus per xii. res hominibus dat remissionem peccatorum eorum. Octava remissio est ut homo ex hac vita ad supplicium discedat, et deinde amici ejus qui in vivis sunt, eum redimere, et remissionem ei servitio divino, et possessionibus mundanis suis apud Deum consequi possint. (*Egbert Pœnitential*, iv. 63, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 223, 225.) The same teaching is embodied in the liturgy of the

brethren, (2) not only in this land, but throughout the earth,

The Anglo-Saxons knew that the Prayers and Good Works of the Living help the Souls in Purgatory,

therefore this sound belief of theirs made them not only build churches,[2] but led them into many a (3) hallowed and hallowing practice, almost each one of which was followed, with the same kindly earnestness, by their Norman and English successors.

Soul-shot was a name given to a small sum of money ordained by law to be paid into that church

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Anglo-Saxon Church :—V. D . . . qui ieiunii obseruatione, et elemosinarum gratissima largitione, nos docuisti nostrorum consequi remedia peccatorum. Unde tuam imploramus clementiam, ut his observationibus, et ceteris bonorum operum exhibitionibus muniti, ea operemur, quibus ad æterna gaudia consequenda, et spes nobis suppetat et facultas. Per Christum. (*Leofric Missal*, 78.) What their prayers taught them, that the Anglo-Saxons reduced to works. In one of his deeds of gift, Cnut says : xvi. mansas Deo omnipotenti et sanctæ Mariæ semper virgini, hilari vultu menteque præclara (ego Cnut rex Anglorum), concedo pro redemptione animæ meæ et criminum meorum absolutione, cum omnibus bonis ad mensam cœnobialis vitæ fratribus Deo servientibus largitus sum, quatinus illi famuli Dei apud altissimum Deum semper fundant preces et cotidie flagitant Deum in psalmodiis et missarum celebrationibus, pro facinoribus meis, ut post obitum meum per misericordiam Dei et per eorum sancta suffragia possim ad regna cœlorum pervenire.—Kemble, *Cod. Dipl. Anglo-Sax.*, vi. 185.

[2] At Aldborough Church, Holderness, Yorkshire, may yet be seen, built into a wall, a round stone, with this Anglo-Saxon inscription :—Ulf het araeran cyrice for hanum 7 for Gunþara saula. —Ulf bade this church to be reared for his own and Gunthar's soul. [See Poulson, *History of Holderness*, ii. 6.]

whereat the body was buried and the service for the dead celebrated: under this same term, large bequests were often freely made to ecclesiastics and favourite churches, for the purpose of getting them to pray for the soul of the deceased donor.[3]

Fasting in behalf of the dead was not forgotten: when a direful pestilence had been sweeping over many parts of this island (*c.* A.D. 681), the brotherhood of Selsey minster kept a fast of three whole days, and humbly besought God to vouchsafe and stretch forth his mercy, freeing such as were threatened with the disease from present death, (4) and preserving those already hurried by it out of this world from never-ending damnation.[4]

Of the clergy, each one according to his degree prayed for the dead after such a way that every grade in orders was able, by supplications and the ritual observances of the Church, to afford ghostly comfort unto the smarting soul of a deceased friend or benefactor: it was begged of the priest to sing mass, of the deacon to read the gospel-history of

[3] The noble Anglo-Saxon lady Wynflaed bequeathed (A.D. 995) a mancus of gold to each of God's servants, as her soul-shot: Hio (Winflaed) becweð . . . hyre to saulsceatte aelcon Godes þeowe mancos goldes.—*Cod. Dipl.*, vi. 130. In the same deed, she charges one of her estates with the sum of half a pound in money, as a soul-shot for her to Wantage: and hio wile ðaet man finde aet Inggeneshamme healfes pundes wyrðne saulsceat to Waneting for hy.—*Ibid.*, p. 131.

[4] Visum est fratribus triduanum jejunium agere et divinam suppliciter obsecrare clementiam ut . . . raptos e mundo a perpetua animæ damnatione servaret.—Beda, *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 14.

our Redeemer's passion, and of all lower clerks to go through the whole or part of the psalter, or to say so many "belts" of "Our Fathers" for such a merciful purpose.[5] To give *doles* to the aged, the

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[5] aec ic bidde higon ðette hie ðas godcundan god gedon aet ðere tide fore hiora sawlum, ðaet eghwilc messepriost gesinge fore osuulfes sawle twa messan twa fore beornðryðe sawle. 7 aeghwilc diacon arede twa passione fore his sawle twa fore hire ond eghwilc godes ðiow gesinge twa fiftig fore his sawle twa fore hire. ðaette ge fore uueuorolde sien geblitsade mid ðem weoroldcundum godum 7 hiora saula mid ðem godcundum godum (*Codex Dipl.*, i. 293, *circa* A.D. 805). Concerning these passions, see note 65, p. 248, in vol. ii. of the present work. At the end of the Sherborne chartulary (described in a note to Leland's *Itinerary*, ii. 57, Oxford, 1744), and [now] possessed by Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., may be seen a fair Passionale of the Anglo-Saxon period. Before the passion according to St. Mark, there is an illumination of that evangelist; St. John is also figured before his, and most likely each passion began with a painting of its writer.

It was a common thing for an ecclesiastic to know the whole Psalter off by heart; hence the ease with which young clerks could readily fulfil the dying request of a benefactor, and say fifty or a hundred psalms for the good of the dead person's soul. In his youth and still a layman, St. Wilfrid knew the whole of the Psalter off by heart: omnem Psalmorum seriem memorialiter . . . didicit [Eddius, in *R.S.*, lxxi. i. 4]. The singing of the Psalter through once, if not twice, in the same day, was a devotion practised among the Anglo-Saxons, as we learn from St. Beda:—Namque fratres ad aecclesiam principio noctis concurrentes, psalterium ex ordine decantantes, ad octogesimum tunc et secundum cantando pervenerant psalmum.—[*Hist. Quin. Abbat.*, § 14, ed. Plummer, i. 378.] Cotidie bis psalterium ex ordine decantare curauit (Ceolfridus) [§ 22, *ibid.*, 386]. In a fair Liber psalmorum or psalter, ten and a half inches high by seven inches broad, belonging to me, written out, as it would seem, somewhere within the province of York, and by an Anglo-Saxon hand, a little after St. Edward the Confessor's reign, there is the following prayer to be said before beginning the psalms:—Suscipere dignare Domine Deus omnipotens hos psalmos consecratos quos ego indignus peccator decantare cupio in honore nominis tui et beate Mariæ semper virginis et omnium sanctorum pro me misero, seu

(5) sick, or the needy, for the good of a friend's or benefactor's soul, was always a favourite religious (6) practice among the Anglo-Saxons. No sooner did Archbishop Wilfrid breathe his last at Hexham minster, which he had built, than its abbot began to bestow daily alms upon the poor for the special behoof and in the name of the departed founder of that house.[6] By an early canon of the Anglo-Saxon Church, it was enacted that at the death of a bishop, each one in the diocese should give to the poor a tithe of whatever he had, and the thrall who had fallen into bondage during that episcopacy, was to be let free, for the purpose of winning from God the forgiveness of the dead prelate's sins: every bishop and abbot throughout the land had to get the psalter said six hundred times, and one hundred and twenty masses sung, besides freeing three bondsmen, to each of whom

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pro cunctis consanguineis meis vel pro amicis meis necnon et pro illis qui in me habent fiduciam, et pro cunctis fidelibus vivis seu defunctis. Concede Domine Ihesu Christe ut isti psalmi omnibus proficiant ad salutem et ad remedium anime, atque ad veram penitentiam faciendam, necnon et ad vitam feliciter faciant nos pervenire eternam. Amen. This prayer would by itself show that among the reasons for saying the Psalter, one was to ease the souls of the dead.

[6] Nam omni die pro eo Missam singularem celebrare, et omni hebdomada quintam feriam, in qua obiit, quasi Dominicam, in epulis venerari; et anniversaria die obitus sui universas decimarum partes de armentis et de gregibus pauperibus populi sui dividere omnibus diebus vitæ suæ ad gloriam Dei constituit, absque his eleemosynis, quas omni die pro se et pro anima Episcopi sui semper nominatim simul indigenis et Deo dabat.—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi Ebor.*, lxiv. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 98].

were to (7) be given three shillings.[7] But this was not all: every servant of God was called upon to keep a fast, and all through the next thirty days, after the (8) canonical hours of the public service were over, seven "belts" of Our Fathers had to be sung for the deceased.[8]

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[7] In the council of Calchuth, or Chalkhyth (A.D. 816), there is a canon headed thus:—

Ut episcoporum fiant exequiæ.

Jubetur . . . ut quandocunque aliquis ex numero episcoporum migraverit de seculo, tunc pro anima illius præcipimus ex substantia uniuscujusque decimam partem dividere, ac distribuere pauperibus in eleemosynam, sive in pecoribus et armentis, seu de ovibus et porcis, vel etiam in cellariis; necnon omnem hominem Anglicum liberare, qui in diebus suis sit servituti subjectus, ut per illud sui proprii laboris fructum retributionis percipere mereatur, et indulgentiam peccatorum. . . . Prorsus orationes et eleemosynas quæ inter nos specialiter condicta habemus; id est, ut statim per singulas parochias in singulis quibusque ecclesiis, pulsato signo, omnis famulorum Dei cœtus ad basilicam conveniat, ibique pariter XXX psalmos pro defuncti anima decantent. Et postea unusquisque antistes et abbas DC psalterios et CXX missas celebrare faciat, et tres homines liberet, et eorum cuilibet tres solidos distribuat, et singuli servorum Dei diem jejunent, et XXX diebus canonicis horis expleto synaxeos et VII beltidum Pater noster pro eo cantetur; et hoc expleto tricesima item die obitus sui tam bene reficiantur sicut in cujuslibet apostolorum natali die refici soleant et per omnes ecclesias tam fideliter pro eo agant, sicut moris habeant pro eorum domesticis fidei exorando facere. Ut communi intercessionis gratia, commune cum sanctis omnibus regnum percipere mereantur æternum.—*Synodus Calchuthensis*, X., in Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 171.

[8] See note 7, above. Though the reading, in the Cotton MS., of this canon be hopelessly incorrect, its meaning may be easily gathered. This belt of "Pater Nosters" spoken of by one of our Anglo-Saxon councils, held at the beginning of the ninth century, as a thing then in common use, is the earliest notice, at least in western Christendom, of that pious usage of employing a string of some kind or another, the knots, notches, or knobs upon which might serve to tell, as the fingers went on holding one of them

(9) Sometimes these mortuary doles consisted of money, sometimes of food, occasionally of both together; and were given not only at the burial, but very often at each year's mind-day of the dead: in not a few instances, they were meant to be distributed on one, if not every day of every

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the while a certain prayer was said, exactly when the due number of such supplications had been gone over. What may have been the shape of, what the mode used, in bearing about with them this prayer-belt among the Anglo-Saxons, we do not know: perhaps the girdle worn around the waist by religious persons was of leather, and studded with small metal button-like bosses, or else deeply notched all along that end which, after being fastened by a buckle, hung loose almost to the ground at the wearer's side, so that it could be easily used for telling the "Our Fathers" at prayer-time. What may have been the precise number of such petitions forming a belt of "Pater Nosters," we are unable to guess. During the latter Anglo-Saxon period, it would seem that beads strung together just like our present rosaries, came to be employed for a similar purpose among lay folks, since we are told how the far-famed Godiva, wife to Count Leofric, bequeathed a circle of threaded jewels upon which her wont was to number her prayers as she said them, to be hung about the neck of the Blessed Virgin Mary's image in a church at Coventry: Cum thesauros vivens ibi (Coventreiæ) totos congessisset (Godiva), jamjamque moritura circulum gemmarum, quem filo insuerat, ut singularum contactu singulas orationes incipiens numerum non prætermitteret, hunc ergo gemmarum circulum collo imaginis sanctæ Mariæ appendi jussit.—Will. Malmesburiensis, *De gestis Pontif. Anglor.*, iv., § 175 [*R.S.*, lii. 311].

Whilst, then, the above native documents are the earliest notices anywhere to be found of the beads as a method for counting the number of prayers to be said, these same documents show that the Anglo-Saxons were the first to bring into use such a devotional appliance, the very name of which leads us back to the times and country of its inventors: for the word "bead" is Anglo-Saxon, meaning "prayer": beads at first signified, not a lady's adornments, but a string of globules for counting prayers. Some such a belt was needful, as by Anglo-Saxon devotion, prayers to a certain number were often said.—*Canons under K. Edgar*, in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 285.

week throughout the whole year round.[9] For the (10) fulfilment of their pious wishes upon this point, while bequeathing to friends and kinsfolks their land, the Anglo-Saxons charged it with the finding of so much bread, meat, and money, to be thus applied, for ever, to the poor.[10] Wishful

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[9] In quo etiam scripto constituit (Wulfredus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis) elemosinam quam cotidie fieri præcepit, in illis terris quas ipse adquisivit pro anima sua et pro animabus omnium illorum qui ecclesiæ aliquid auxilium impendissent. . . . Apud Hergam v. pauperes, apud Otteford v. apud Clive ii. apud Gravenea ii. apud Oesvalun vii. in civitate Doroberniæ vi, unicuique detur cotidie ad manducandum quod convenienter sit satis, et per annum unicuique pauperi ad vestitum XXVI denarii. Cotidie quoque præcepit missam celebrari pro animabus supramemoratorum. In anniversario suo præcepit dari MCC. pauperibus ad manducandum, cuique panem unum et caseum, aut lardum et denarium unum. (*Circa* A.D. 832.)—*Codex Dip.*, i. 298.

[10] This we find done in many Anglo-Saxon wills ; the holder of certain lands at Bourn, Kent, was bound to give twenty barley loaves every Sunday for Ealdred's soul and Ealhburga's :—suelc mon se ðet lond hebbe eghwylce sunnan dege. XX. gesufira hlafa to ðare cirican for ealdredes saule 7 for ealhburge. (*Circa* A D. 831.)—*Ibid.*, i. 297. But the following extracts from Osuulf's will, ratified by Archbishop Wulfred, afford an apt illustration of this religious practice : "I Osuulf, ealderman, with God's grace, and Beornthryth my wife, give to Christ's Church at Canterbury, the land at Stanhamstede, viz., xx carucates to God Almighty and the holy congregation, in the hope and for the reward of the eternal and future life, and for the health of our souls and our children's. . . . I Wulfred then, with God's grace, archbishop, confirm these aforesaid words, and bid that these things be given after a twelvemonth, from Limene to which this aforesaid land belongs, from the same land at Stanhamstede, cxx wheaten loaves, and xxx clean (of fine flour) simnel cakes, and j sound ox, and iv sheep, and ij flitches, and v geese, and x hens, and x lb. of cheese, if it be a fowl-day, but if it be a fast-day, let a wey of cheese be given, and of fish, butter, and eggs, what may be got, and xxx ambers of good Welsh ale, which is equivalent to xv mits, and a mit-ful of honey, and ij of wine, whichever is to be had : and of the common goods of the brethren at the minster, let there be given cxx barley loaves in

that there (11) should be a religious solemnity shed around the very act of distributing these mortuary doles, the Church drew up a form of blessing to be spoken over the food before it was given away; and from the words of this prayer, all around knew the alms were bestowed in the name and on behalf of that dead man's or woman's soul who had bequeathed such a kind of charitable help to the poor.[11]

(12) But deeds of a higher, because holier, species of goodwill towards the lowly and forlorn were, upon those sorrowful occasions of a burial, done by the living out of love for the dead: thraldom unhappily was in being among the Anglo-Saxons as well as every other people of Europe in their time; but often at the behest of a weeping son, the while he bowed him down in prayer by his sire's bier at the foot of the altar, his

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alms for their souls, as is done at Christmas-tide; and let all these aforesaid eatables be delivered to the ruleward, and let him distribute them as may be most advisable to the brethren and best for their souls. Let the wax also be given to the Church, and do good to their souls for whom it is done. Also I bid my successors who shall have the land at Bourn, that after a twelvemonth, they always against that time get ready ten hundred loaves and as many barley loaves, and deal them out in alms at that time, for my soul, and Osuulf's, and Beornthryth's, at Christchurch, and let the ruleward tell in the town when the time is," &c.—*Cod. Dipl.*, i. 292, 293.

[11] This is shown by the following Anglo-Saxon rubric, and Latin prayer: Cweð this ofer ðone mete the man for deadne gedaeleð.

Præcamur te Domine clementissime pater, ut elemosina ista fiat in misericordia tua, ut accepta sit cibum istum pro anima famuli tui, ill., ut sit benedictio tua super omnia dona ista, per.—Wanley, *Librorum Vet. Catal.*, p. 83 [in Hickes, *Thesaurus*].

Bondsmen's Freedom was given them over the Corpse of their Dead Lord,

with a wish from his kind-hearted child that his father's soul might ever be prayed for by those who there became freemen only under the promise of fulfilling such an easy stipulation.[12] More frequently, however, the pious father and mother left not such an act of humanity to be done for them by their offspring, nor did the wealthy churchman trust for its performance to the unbidden generosity of his friends and those among his kindred to whom he gave a portion of his lands, but thoughtful of it themselves, they made the freedom of all or some of their serfs a particular article marked down in their last will.[13] Moreover, the saying of

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[12] Her kyð on þissere bec ꝑ Waltere Wulfordes sune ureode Aþelune inna Sces Petres mynstre over his faderlic. his fader saule to aliseonisse, 7 his.—*MS.* in *Bib. Cath. Exoniensis*, in Hickes, *Thes.*, t. ii., *Diss. Epist.* p. 15.

[13] That this custom was old among the Anglo-Saxons of giving their freedom to bondsmen, for the good of a soul after death, is well shown by a letter to the abbess Eadburga from our St. Boniface. In writing to her the details which he had told him by a certain Anglo-Saxon religious man, of all that the same monk, whilst lying entranced, was given to behold in the other world, among other things, the archbishop says that their countryman spoke thus:—Fratris cujusdam qui paulo ante defunctus est, animam tristem ibi videbam, cui antea ipse in infirmitate exitus sui ministravi, et exequias præbui, qui mihi moriens præcepit, ut fratri illius germano verbis illius testificans demandarem, ut ancillam quandam quam in potestate communiter possederunt, pro anima ejus manumitteret. Sed germanus ejus, avaritia impedi-

(13) Mass immediately over the Tomb of the Dead

was, among our Saxon forefathers, another liturgical rite which grew out of their belief in a middle state.

As the year, in creeping round, brought back the (14) anniversary[14] of a benefactor, or a friend, or

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ente, petitionem ejus non implevit (St. Boniface, *Opp.*, ed. Giles, i. 59). The whole of the archbishop's account of his countryman the Anglo-Saxon monk's vision, is highly curious. In her last will, after setting free many bondsmen and women on her lands, Wynflaed says, if there be any others brought by her into thraldom, she trusts her children will let them off for her soul's sake: and gif ðaer hwylc witeðeowman sy butan ðyson ðe hio geðeowede, hio gelyfð to hyre bearnon ðaet hi hine willon lyhtan for hyre saulle (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.*, vi. 132). Again: *7* ic wille þ man frigæ haelve mine men on elcũ tune for mine sawlæ. *7* þ man dele æal healf þ yrue þ ic haebbe on ælcũ tune for mire sawle—*Ibid.*, iii. 273, Ælflaed's Will. And he wyle ðaet man freoge aefter his daege aelcne witefaestne man ðe on his timan forgylt waere (Abp. Ælfric's Will, *Ib.*, p. 352). Like bequests of freedom to bondsmen for the same object occur at pp. 360, 361. Wulf wished: xxx de mancipiis meis libertatem pro anima mea habeant.—*Ibid.*, iv. 289.

[14] Hard by where King Oswald set up a wooden cross, and kneeling with all his army before it, begged of God to give him victory, just before he began the onset with the barbarians near the Roman wall, stood Hexham minster. For years afterwards, until assured by miracles that the holy warrior was a saint in heaven, did the brotherhood of that church go to the spot the evening before the day upon which Oswald was slain in another battle; and having spent the night in keeping a wake, that is, in singing that part of the Church-service still called *Vigiliæ Mortuorum*, or "matins and lauds," they offered up in behalf of his soul the holy sacrifice of the mass during the morning: Fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, . . . advenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Oswald occisus est, vigilias pro salute animæ ejus facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, victimam pro eo mane sacræ oblationis offerre

of their religious brethren, the Anglo-Saxon monks would (15) go to the churchyard wherein they lay buried, and pitching a tent there, on the very spot, sing psalms beneath its roof, and offer up, upon a temporary altar which overspread the grave itself, the holy sacrifice of the mass, during some days, for the souls of those, their friends more especially, whose bodies were crumbling into dust below.[15] Like feelings gave rise to

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(Beda, *Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 2). The mass for such an occasion is preserved in a very valuable monument of the Anglo-Saxon times.

MISSA IN CIMITERIO.

Deus cujus miseratione animæ fidelium requiescunt animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum, vel omnibus in hoc cimiterio quiescentibus, da propitius veniam peccatorum ut a cunctis reatibus absolutæ sine fine laetentur. per.

Alia.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, annue, quæsumus, precibus nostris ea que poscimus, et dona omnibus, quorum hic corpora requiescunt, refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, luminis claritatem; ut qui peccatorum suorum pondere pregravantur, eos supplicatio commendet æcclesie. per.

Secreta.

Pro animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium hic dormientium, hostiam, Domine, suscipe benignus oblatam, ut hoc sacrificio singulari vinculis horrendæ mortis exute vitam mereantur æternam. per.

Post Communionem.

Deus, fidelium lumen animarum, adesto supplicationibus nostris, et da omnibus quorum corpora hic requiescunt refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, luminis claritatem. per.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 56.

[15] In recording the burning of Croyland minster, then called Ancarig, and the slaughter of its monks by the Danes, Ingulph gives us a strong instance of Anglo-Saxon piety in praying for the dead: multo sudore omnia monachorum dicti monasterii corpora comportata, numero 84 in medio cœmiterio dicti monasterii, contra frontem ecclesiæ quondam orientalem, scilicet in uno latissimo

(16) Churchyard and Wayside Crosses.

In setting up at the south end of their burial grounds a tall stone rood,[16] graven with its many sculptures, but especially the figure of Christ our Lord outstretched upon it, one of the objects which the pious Anglo-Saxons had before their eyes while doing so, was that all who went into church might thus be put in mind to remember in their prayers the souls of those whose bodies were mouldering beneath the green sod of that hallowed ground. Not only within their churchyards, but by the pathside, was it the practice among the Anglo-Saxons to raise beautifully wrought stone crosses; (17) and of those tokens of Christianity which are yet left standing, the greater part seem to have been erected to mark the spot whereon some distinguished individual

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tumulo ad hoc aptato . . . sepilivit, ponens supra corpus abbatis in medio filiorum suorum quiescentis petram piramidalem tres pedes in altitudine et tres in longitudine et unum in latitudine continentem, insculptasque imagines abbatis ac monachorum suorum circumstantium gestantem . . . et omni anno quam diu vixit, semel visitans, supraque petram suum tentorium figens, pro animabus ibidem sepultorum Missas per biduum devotione continua celebravit (abbas Godricus), . . . et crucem lapideam similiter imagine Salvatoris insculptam . . . prædictus abbas Godricus tunc ibidem posuit . . . ut transeuntes viatores memores monasterii sanctissimi pro animabus fidelium in ipso cœmiterio quiescentium preces Domino solverent.—Ingulph, *Hist.* [ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1883, pp. 40, 41].

[16] Of such a cross put up by St. Cuthberht, see note 67 in vol. ii. of this work, p. 249.

either had met with sudden death, been killed, or whereat the corpse was set down by its bearers while they halted a few hours for rest and prayer on the road to its burial-place, and thus ask each wayfarer to breathe, on going by, a short supplication to Christ for his forgiveness, and that everlasting happiness in heaven which he bought for us on the cross, unto the dead man's soul.[17] Nay, so strong were these (18) Anglo-

[17] The Runic legend upon the curious cross at Lancaster says, —Pray for Cynibald son of Cuthert (*Archæological Journal*, iii. 72), where the cross itself and its runes are figured. "The old cross"—ðа ealdan rode—is not unfrequently noticed in Anglo-Saxon deeds and grants of property, as one of the landmarks of a township.—Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.*, vi. 2, 177.

The smarts of purgatory, and those various depths in its cleansing fires unto which, according to Anglo-Saxon belief, each soul, on falling into that burning pool, was made to sink, as the blots of sin were few or many upon it, are strongly set forth in Archbishop St. Boniface's description of an Anglo-Saxon monk's trance, wherein we are told how: Nec non et igneum piceumque flumen bulliens et ardens miræ formidinis et teterrimæ visionis cernebat, super quod lignum pontis vice positum erat, ad quod sanctæ gloriosæque animæ ab illo secedentes conventu, properabant desiderio alterius ripæ, transire cupientes, et quædam non titubantes constanter transibant: quædam vero labefactæ de ligno cadebant in tartareum flumen: et aliæ tingebantur quasi toto corpore mersæ: aliæ autem ex parte quadam veluti ad genua media, quædam vero usque ad ascellas: et tamen unaquæque cadentium multo clarior speciosiorque de flumine in alteram ascendebat ripam quam prius in piceum bulliens cecidisset flumen. Et unus ex beatis angelis, de illis cadentibus animabus dixit: Hæ animæ sunt quæ post exitum mortalis vitæ quibusdam levibus vitiis non omnino ad purum abolitis aliqua pia miserentis Dei castigatione indigebant ut Deo dignæ offerantur.—St. Boniface, *Opp.*, ed. Giles, i. 57.

In his account of Ripon minster, Leland says:—"One thing I much notid, that was 3 crossis standing in row at the est ende of the chapelle garth. They were thinges *antiquissimi operis*, and monumentes of sum notable men buried there." He calls these

Saxon cravings, that they must needs make themselves known through the smaller actions of (19) life, and on the slightest opportunity. Hence in bestowing a psalter, or a copy of the gospels, or any other liturgical codex upon his favourite church, the high-born Anglo-Saxon would ofttimes have written at the beginning of the volume a wish, set forth in prose or verse, asking of those who might take up and read its pages, to pour out a short prayer in behalf of the soul of him who gave the book.[18] In bidding,

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crosses "tokens of the old monasterie left after the depopulation of the Danes" (*Itin.*, i. 90). At Heddenham was the base of a cross, now removed to Ely minster, commemorating Ovinus, Etheldreda's steward, native here, who died about 680.

✠ Lucem . Tuam . Ovino .
Da . Deus . Et . Requiē .
Amen .

—Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 141*.

An Anglo-Saxon bishop of Worcester has left us a very valuable notice of these burial crosses:—"Ad locum ubi sacrum corpus ejus (S. Aldhelmi) jacebat, l^ta^ ferme milibus ultra Meldunense monasterium situm deveni (ait S. Eguinus Wigorn. Epis.); et ad sepulturam adduxi et honorifice sepelivi, mandans ut, in quocunque loco sacrum corpus in asportatione pausaverat, sacræ crucis erigerentur signacula." Manent omnes cruces, nec ulla earum vetustatis sensit injuriam; vocanturque biscepstane, id est lapides episcopi (Will. Malmesb., *Vita Aldhelmi Epis. Scireburnensis*, in *Gesta Pontif.*, v. § 230) [*R.S.*, lii. 384]. From a passage a little before, it would seem that one of these stone crosses was set up at every seven miles on the road between Doulting, the place of the saint's death, and Malmesbury, where he was buried:—Celebris illa pompa funeris fuit, dum pro miraculorum frequentia figerentur semper lapideæ cruces ad septem miliaria.—*Ibid.*, p. 383.

[18] Hunc codicem Æðelstan rex devota mente Dorobernensi tribuit ecclesiæ beato Augustino dicatæ. Et quisquis hoc legerit omnipotenti pro eo proque suis fundat preces (*MS. Bib. Reg.* 1, A.

just before death, a last (20) farewell to all their friends, or in stating what words they wished to be cut upon their own gravestone, the most learned and eminent of our Anglo-Saxon scholars, like Beda[19] and Alcuin,[20] earnestly (21) besought a remembrance in the prayers of all who lived after them.

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xviii., in the British Museum). In another codex may be read these lines:—

> Qui legis inscriptos versus rogitare memento
> Xpī̃ ac in requie semper dic vivat Athelwerd
> Qui dedit hunc thomū Aedhelmo pro quo sibi Xp̃s
> Munera larga ferat largitor crimina laxans.

—*Corpus Christi Camb. MS.*, 23.

Upon this as well as every other point of Catholic belief, our Anglo-Saxons kept up a strict communion with the rest of the Church on the Continent; for at the death of his great friend Pope Hadrian I., the Emperor Charlemagne sent over to Offa, king of the Mercians, a baldric, a sword, and two silk mantles for himself, besides dalmatics and altar-palls to be distributed among the cathedral churches of this country, with a request that prayers should be said for the good of the dead pontiff's soul:—cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra quod aliquam benignitatem de dalmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel Ethelfredi direximus in eleëmosynam Domni Apostolici Hadriani deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis . . . vestræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum et unum gladium Huniscum et duo pallia serica.—*Epist. ad Offam Regem Merciorum*, in Baluze, *Capit. Reg. Franc.*, i. 197, Venetiis 1772 [*P.L.*, xcviii. 907].

[19] See before in this work, ii. 241, note 57.

[20] Alchwin nomen erat sophiam mihi semper amanti,
Pro quo funde preces mente, legens titulum.
—*Alcuini Epitaphium*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.*, v. 154.

Of this epitaph, written for himself by Alcuin, it is said by the writer of his life—who gathered his facts from the mouth of Alcuin's scholar and friend, Sigulf, of the church of York:—super cujus tumulum positus est, sicut ipse jusserat titulus quem ipse vivens dictaverat, lamina scriptus in ærea, parietique insertus.—*Ibid.*, p. 153.

This knowledge that something more could be done than sighing forth idle bemoanings for the fondly beloved but death-stricken object of affection, was thought to hallow while it sweetened Christian friendship; and it was held that, of two friends, he whom death carried off the first, ought to be looked upon as the happier, leaving behind him, as he did, one who, with a brother's love, would daily call upon heaven for its forgiveness to his deceased friend, the blemishes of whose early years he would strive and wash out with his own living tears. Nay, it was deemed that such a holy care for the departed soul, must avail alike the living who bestowed it and the dead on whom it was bestowed: the living would earn for himself the meet reward of such a work of true belief and love; to the dead, his punishment would be lightened, or his happiness made greater.[21] But

The Witness of Heaven was yielded to the Doctrine of Purgatory.

For had they wanted, which they did not, other arguments, besides the teaching of the Church, to (22) help their belief in this Catholic doctrine of a

[21] Si duo sunt amici, felicior est mors præcedentis quam subsequentis; habet enim qui fraterno amore pro se quotidie intercedat, et lacrymis lavat pristinæ errores vitæ. Nec dubites prodesse piæ sollicitudinis curam, quam pro anima illius geris. Tibi proficit, et illi. Tibi itaque, quæ in fide facis et dilectione: illi, ut vel pœna levigetur, vel beatitudo augeatur.—Alcuin, *Epist. cc. ad Edilthrudam* [*P.L.* c. 474, 475].

middle state, the Anglo-Saxons might have easily found them in the records of many a miracle, as they looked through the writings or read the lives of those among their countrymen who have, from time to time, shed upon this and other lands the light of their learning, and filled them with the sweetness of their holiness.[22]

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[22] From the life of St. Lioba (who with some nuns was sent from Winborne over to St. Boniface in Germany), we learn that Tetta, the abbess of that minchery in Dorsetshire, beheld how the heaped-up grave of a nun there, who had died unforgiving the over-sternness of a superior, by its sinking down into a deep hollow, showed the soul of the dead was ill at rest, and therefore needed prayers; and how, after fastings and supplications in its behalf to God, that spirit got set free from purgatory, which became known to the sisterhood by the uprising of the grave and its little hillock to its first height:—Defuncta est ergo in hac pertinacia, et sepulturæ tradita (monialis), tumulusque super sepulchrum ejus congesto terræ aggere compositus est. Mater congregationis venerabilis Tetta . . . perrexit ad tumulum, et mirum in modum conspexit terram quæ desuper congesta erat subsedisse, et usque ad semipedis spatium infra summitatem sepulchri descendisse. Quo viso vehementer expavit: intellexit enim ex defectu terræ, pœnam sepultæ; et severitatem justi judicii Dei perpendit ex detrimento sepulchri. . . . Pro defuncta sorore eas (moniales) obsecravit, ut quidquid ante mortem in quamlibet earum peccasse videbatur, ex animo remittentes, secum pariter orationi incumberent, et pro absolutione illius divinam clementiam invocarent. Cumque omnes unanimiter exhortationibus ejus annuissent, indixit eis triduanum jejunium, monens unamquamque psalmodiis et vigiliis ac precibus sanctis pro ea studiosius insistere. Die autem tertia, expleto jejunio, cum omni congregatione virginum basilicam intravit, et illis litanias facientibus, et nomen Salvatoris invocantibus, ipsa cum lacrymis ante altare, pro anima defunctæ sororis rogatura, prosternitur. Cumque in oratione persisteret, fossa sepulchri, quæ prius pene vacua videbatur, humo excrescente, paullatim cœpit repleri: ita ut uno eodemque momento et ipsa ab oratione resurgeret, et terra sepulchrum complanaret. Qua de re manifeste ostenditur, quod cum monumentum visibiliter ad priorem statum rediit per orationes sanctæ virginis, defunctæ animam

(23) Carrying out in practice the pious dictates of such a tenet, no wonder the Anglo-Saxon Church (24) decreed, as she did in her synods, that, at all the canonical hours of the public service, the clergy should pray not only in behoof of

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virtus divina invisibiliter absolvit.—Rudolf of Fulda, sæc. ix., *Vita S. Liobæ*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* iv. 223, 224.

The vision in which the Anglo-Saxon ankret St. Balther saw the soul of one who, through shame, had once kept back a sin in confession, writhing under its purgatorial torments, and afterwards, its joyful flight up to heaven when he had poured forth to God long and earnest prayers in its behalf, is well pictured in the following lines, from the pen of an unknown monk of York, who was perhaps our Alcuin :—

Vir pius ille quidem quodam dum tempore solus
Incubuit precibus meditans cœlestia tantum;
Horribilem subito strepitum simul atque fragorem
Audivit, veluti vulgi erumpentis in hostes.
Tunc anima ex superis cujusdam nubibus ejus
Ante pedes cecidit, nimio tremefacta timore
Quam mox turba minax ingenti horrore secuta est,
Cum variis miseram pœnis torquere volentum.
At Pater ille pius placidis amplexibus illam
Arripuit gremio, statimque inquirit ab illa
Quæ esset, cur fugeret, faceret vel quæ mala: cui tunc
Respondit: . . . . . .
Et culpam erubui juvenis in carne fateri
Nunc idcirco feri duris incursibus hostes
Post triginta dies meme torquere sequuntur.
. . . . . .
Tunc pius interventor humo prosternitur, atque
Cum lacrymis Domino pro culpa supplicat illa.
Nec prius ille preces desistit fundere sacras,
Quam propriis animam ferri vidisset ocellis
Altius angelicas cœli super astra per ulnas.

—*Frag. Hist. de Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecc. Eboracensis*, Anon., *circ.* A.D. 785. Ed. Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* iv. 508 [*P.L.* ci. 839, 840]. How the shackles used to fall from the wrists of the living but captive warrior, every day, at the hour that mass was offered up by his brother for his soul, under the impression that he was among the slain, has been already noticed (ii. 243) in this work.

the living but also of the dead, for the good of whose souls she likewise enjoined that the holy sacrifice of the Mass was to be often offered up.[23] Lay folks, too, (25) were called upon to fulfil the same charitable office every day; and as a help to them in its performance, those same councils pointed out the exact form of supplication for every one to say, either in Latin, the language of the liturgy, or in their own native Saxon, as best they might be able.[24]

The Anglo-Saxon's and the Norman's belief being the same upon this as on every other point of doctrine, Norman was like Anglo-Saxon practice in following it.

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[23] Statuerunt ut deinceps per canonicas orationum horas non solum pro se ecclesiastici sive monasteriales, sed etiam pro regibus ac ducibus totiusque populi christiani incolumitate, divinam incessanter exorarent clementiam . . . et ut pro viventibus divina precaretur clementia, et pro mortuis piæ placationis celebratio sæpius pro illarum requie animarum, per plurimorum officia sacerdotum Christi ageretur, &c.—*Concil. Cloveshoviense* (A.D. 747), in Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 100.

[24] Sive dum pro se ut faciant in illa sancta modulatione, Deum multiplici modo et laudant et orant; sive etiam pro aliis, viventibus seu mortuis, cum expleta quantalibet psalmodia, genu flectentes in orationem, et lingua Latina, vel qui eam non didicerunt, sua Saxonica dicunt: "Domine miserere illi et parce peccatis illius, et converte illum, ut faciat voluntatem tuam:" sive id pro mortuis: "Domine secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, da requiem animæ illius, atque ei pro tua immensa pietate gaudia lucis æternæ donare cum tuis sanctis dignare."—*Ibid.*, p. 99.

Soul-Shot

under another though not so fit a name—mortuary[25] (26)—continued to be paid; and while

[25] Sic dictum eo quod relinquitur ecclesiæ pro anima defuncti . . . et quia cum mortuo, tempore sepulturæ, consuevit ad ecclesiam deferri.—*Lyndwood* [i. 3, p. 21, note o]. Archbishop Langton in one of the constitutions (A.D. 1209) for his province of Canterbury, while speaking about an older statute on the subject, lets us see what were the grounds upon which the Church founded her right to these mortuary gifts: Satagebat idem prædecessor saluti consulere animarum, eo quod considerabat laicos utriusque sexus subditos suos, quandoque per ignorantiam, nonnunquam vero per negligentiam et injustam decimarum et oblationum suarum detentionem graviter deliquisse. Et quia non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum, prudenter attendens, salubriter statuit, quod pro recompensatione decimarum taliter subtractarum . . . secundum melius animal defuncti, ecclesiæ damnum passæ debuit applicari . . . ad solutionem mortuarii de jure debiti contradictores et rebelles volumus per locorum ordinarios censura ecclesiastica coarctari.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 530. Such, too, are the reasons given by the Synod of Exeter (A.D. 1289), *ibid.*, ii. 158. In old English wills, it is no uncommon thing to meet with a bequest to a church "in recompense of tithes and oblations forgotten and not paid," as in that of Elizabeth, Lady Latimer (A.D. 1480), *Test. Vet.*, i. 359. The best animal the deceased died worth, went to his parish church as his mortuary, which for a knight was, in general, a war-horse trapped in all its military harness. Sir William Vavasour says (A.D. 1311): "Corpus meum ad sepelliendum in nova capella Sancti Leonardi de Heselwod: et pro mortuario meo meliorem equum meum cum armis ad militem pertinentibus." —*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, i. 13. This chapel is, and always has remained, in Catholic hands, and being extra-parochial, is one among the very few old buildings of Catholic worship in England which has never been desecrated by the performance within its walls of a heterodox service. In his will (dated A.D. 1345), Richard de la Pole, knight, leaves:—Meliorem palefridum meum debito modo paratum eidem ecclesiæ nomine mortuarii mei.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 7. But other objects of the same or higher value were often presented: the rich sacrificial garments, the costly ornaments, and the sacred vessels called his "chapel" were usually left, under this name of mortuary, by a bishop to his cathedral,

those endowments which the Anglo-Saxon thane had made to gain for his soul the prayers, through

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as we learn from several curious inventories of such liturgical appliances (*Wills, &c.*, i. 1, 2, 3, &c.); while by both men and women in the middle ranks of life, their bettermost garments were thought to be no insufficient equivalent. Thus Thomas Harpham gives (A.D. 1341), meliorem supertunicam meam cum capucio ejusdem sectæ fururatam nomine mortuarii.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 2; and Helen de Bilburgh bequeaths—pro mortuario meo unam supertunicam cum capucio (*ibid.*, p. 3); Agnes Percehay leaves forty shillings in money—pro mortuario meo xls.—*Ibid.*, p. 53. The more usual practice was that followed by William Bevill, who says in his will (A.D. 1487), "my best hors, in ye name of my mortuary, after the custom of the cuntre."—*Test. Vet.*, ii. 781. The more solemn offering of a baron's and a sovereign's mortuary, has already been mentioned in this work, ii. 407, &c.; but there was another kind which asks for our notice here. The living showed their esteem for a dead friend by sending one or more wide rich palls of golden cloth, to be strewed by their messenger, if they did not go themselves and with their own hands outspread them at offering-time, over the coffin as the body lay before the altar during Mass: such costly presents were kept by the church as a part of the mortuary gift, and vestments were made out of them: thus —In die funeracionis (Richardi Kellowe episcopi Dunelmensis) Thomas Comes Lancastriæ optulit super corpus ejusdem iij pannos rubeos cum armis ejusdem; de quibus facta sunt vestimenta illa in quibus celebratur quando conventus est in albis. Rex vero Edwardus secundus post conquistum misit ab Eboraco elemosinarium suum Dunelmum et de pannis auro textis corpus honoravit. —*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, i. 21. John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, in his will (A.D. 1347), says: Ieo voile que touz les draps d'or et de seye qui serront offortz pour mon corps . . . demoergent a la dit esglise ou mon corps serra enterretz.—*Test. Eborac.*, p. 42. When Ralph, Lord Nevill, was buried (A.D. 1355), four costly palls, which afforded the materials for as many vestments, were offered. At our royal obsequies, this rite used to be performed with more than common solemnity: in describing Richard II.'s funeral, Hardyng tells us how:—

> At Poules his Masse was done and diryge,
> In hers royall semely to royalte,
> The Kyng & lordes clothes of golde there offerde,
> Some viii. some ix. upon his herse were proferde.

—Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, p. 357. When Prince Arthur,

future (27) ages, of the poor, by the distribution of alms among them, were in many instances

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Henry VII.'s eldest son, was buried, "all the offerings of money done, the Lord Powys went to the queere doore, where two gentlemen ushers delivered him a rich palle of cloth of gould of tyssue which he offred to the corpse, where two officers of armes receaved it, and laid it along the corpse. The Lord Dudley in like manner offred a palle, which the said officers laid over the corpse. The Lord Greye Ruthen offred another; and every each of the three Earles offred to the corpse three palles of the same cloth of gould: the lowest Earle began first. All the palles were layd crosse over the corpse. That done, the sermon beganne," &c.—Leland, *Collect.*, v. 380. After the offering of the mass-penny, at Henry VII.'s burial in Westminster Abbey, "twoe herauds came againe unto the said Duke of Buck. and to the Earles, and conveyed them into the revestrie, where they did receive certen palles which everie of them did bringe solempnly betwene theire hands, and cominge in order one before another, as they were in degree, unto the said herse, they kissed theire said palles, and delivered them unto the said heraudes which laide them uppon the Kyngs corps, in this manner: the palle which was first offered by the Duke of Buck. was laid on length on the said corps, and the residewe were laid acrosse, as thick as they might lie. Which palles were offered in the manner aforesaid, in token of their homage which they of dutie ought to doe unto the Kinge."—*Ibid.*, iv. 308. In "The ordre of the offeringe at the Masse of Requiem" at the burial of Queen Mary in the same church, we find thus described under an especial rubric, "The Offeringe of the Paules:" "Item, the Ladyes stode uppe within the hersse, and the Lady Northe came fourth to the ralle at the hedd, unto whome Garter delyvered twoo paules, whoo, with the officers of armes before her, went about the hersse, and at the feate of the said Lady (Queen Mary) offered the said paules, the which were reseved by the foresaid Garter, and laid on the feet of the corsse acrosse; and when she had don she retorned to the hersse agayne. Item, all the Baronesses did offer ij paules a pece in lyke manner. Item, all Countesses did offer iiij paules a pece in like manner."—*Ibid.*, v. 322.

Among the liturgical practices of old Catholic England, few are more fitting to be brought back into use than this custom of strewing the bier with such gifts as may be wrought up into sacred garments, or can otherwise help to ornament the house of God. While the living show their sorrow for the loss of their dead friend, or relative, in a way so lasting and becoming, they at the

faithfully administered (28) for that purpose, up to the times of our eighth Henry,[26] the Anglo-Norman and the English (29) baron strove, each in his day. to outdo the pious munificence of his Saxon forerunners, whose design (30) and wishes, upon this religious subject, were exactly like his own. Of this, proof might be (31) gathered after proof. Within many of our larger churches in the olden time, often did straying pilgrims gaze with admiring wonderment upon the rich silver cross fashioned as a reliquary, and on the precious vessel wrought with beauteous skill for holding the adorable Eucharist, as hovering, dove-like. it hung down from the chancel's roof. On asking about them, those strangers learned, in many instances, that such ornaments—perhaps, too, the

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same time aid in providing for the decent administration of the holy sacrifice; and on each occasion they happen to behold the vestments, the frontals, or the curtains made out of their mortuary offering, they will be reminded to pray for the soul of him or her in whose behalf that gift was presented.

[26] Among the alms given away to the poor by the monastery of Peterborough when its lands were seized by our old Harry, were: Elemosina data pauperibus orantibus pro animabus regis Piade, Ulferi, et Etheldredi fundatorum predicti monasterii (De Burgo S. Petri) tam in festis principalibus quam in festis duplicibus ex antiqua fundacione cxv*s*. viij*d*. Et in denariis annuatim solutis octo pauperibus hominibus existentibus in hospitali Sc̄i Leonardi juxta burgum . . . ibidem cotidie orantibus pro animabus fundatorum predictorum ex antiqua fundacione, &c.—*Valor. Eccl.*, iv. 283. Again another religious house, the monastery of the B. V. Mary at Middleton, until the same period, kept up the custom of bestowing: Elemosina pro anima regis Athelstani fundatoris monasterii (Beate Marie Virginis de Myddelton). In elemosinis annuatim distributis xiij pauperibus ville de Myddelton, &c., xxx*l*. vij*s*. x*d*.—*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 251.

splendid signet of gold which they beheld glistening on the shrine, but which a weeping husband had drawn from off his widowered finger to bestow upon it—had been all brought by him at offertory-time, in the Mass sung over the corpse of his beloved spouse, unto that altar, and left there not merely for a burial gift, but to be so many earnests by which he meant to bind himself before God and man that he would grant broad lands—some rich manor—and thus provide unceasing prayers within those hallowed walls for his dead wife's, his friends', and when he himself should die, his own soul, for (32) evermore:[27] many an ornament, meetly beautiful, so came to the Church.[28]

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[27] Willielmus de Albeneyo (temp. Henrici primi) . . . assistens ad exequias uxoris suæ Matildis . . . gemens et plorans, et ad salutem ejusdem defunctæ prospiciens pro spe retributionis æternæ, pro salute regis Henrici . . . pro anima regis Willielmi . . . contradidit ecclesiæ sanctæ Dei genetricis et perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ de Wymundham. . . . manerium quod vocatur Hapesburg, in elemosinam sempiternam. . . . Hanc donationem confirmavit ipse W. de Albeneyo ipso die sepulturæ ejus (Matildis) per crucem argenteam in qua reconditæ sunt reliquiæ . . . et per annulum ejus aureum per cifum quoque argenteum in modum sphæræ mira arte fabricatum et ad Eucharistiam proprie conservandam. Quæ omnia super altare posuit per manum episcopi, facta supplicatione et completa letania, jam missam celebraturi.—*Mon. Angl.*, iii. 330.

[28] Under these feelings, a master of Sherborne Hospital made the following bequest to the church of that house:—Textum meum argenteum lego domui de Schyreburn, et rogo quatenus quotienscunque ad ornatum altaris deferatur singuli fratrum et sororum singulis diebus dicant pro anima mea orationem Dominicam cum salutacione Beatæ Virginis; et hoc scribatur in martilogio.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 7.

To help by alms-deeds the poor man's wants, on the condition that he pray for certain departed souls, is an act of brotherly love kind alike towards the living and the dead, the performance of which ever has been, and still continues to be, strongly urged upon her children by the Church. On the (33) burial-day, therefore, were invariably distributed not only by the Anglo-Saxons, but by the people of this country till the last moment of England's Catholicism, doles of some sort or another, which, if not always, at least often, reached a high amount.[29] (34) Not only the feeble,

[29] Very large doles either in money, in food, or in clothing, were bestowed upon the poor at burials: William le Vavasour says—Die sepulturæ meæ in distributione pauperum, videlicet cuilibet j^{d}. sexaginta sex libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios et plus si necesse fuerit.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, i. 14. Richard, Bishop of Durham (A.D. 1316), provides thus for his burial dole: Lego pauperibus die sepulturæ meæ centum marcas.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 1. Hugh of Tunsted makes the following bequest: Lego ad distribuendum pauperibus in die sepulturæ meæ decem quarteria frumenti in pane seu pecunia ad valorem tanti bladi, secundum discretionem executorum meorum.—*Ibid.*, p. 18. I will—says Joan, Viscountess L'Isle—that my executors provide three hundred shirts and smocks for poor folk, the one half for men, the other for women.—*Test. Vet.*, ii. 466. The dinner given to the friends of the dead on the day of burial was in general costly, and the alms to the poor most plentiful: Do et lego—says Ralph Neville, Lord of Raby and Earl of Westmorland (who died A.D. 1440)—De bonis meis ad valorem ccc. marcarum, pro convivio et expensis funeralibus; et xl*l*. ulterius ad distribuendum pauperibus in elemosina per duos dies tantum; videlicet utroque die distribuendo xx*l*.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 72. Alan, master of Sherborne Hospital (A.D. 1411), says: Volo ut die exequiarum mearum xx marcæ pauperibus distribuantur. . . . Item volo ut die obitus mei executores mei conveniant in prandio cum amicis meis per eos invitandis, sumptibus meis, et cibent L pauperes, et habeant secum fragmenta sua, &c.—*Ibid.*, 52. Ego W. Percehay,

the bedridden,[30] and the old, but helpless childhood and the fatherless, were (35) thought for on such occasions; and amongst all these, the poor maiden who, being without friends or help, might miss her chance of entering into holy wedlock,

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dominus de Ryton . . . lego in distribucione pauperum xl. libras argenti. Et volo quod executores obligentur periculo animæ suæ quod nullus pauper recedat sine denario vel pane equivalente denarii.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 6. Ego Petrus del Hay . . . do lego in distribucione pauperum quinque marcas arg'. Et convocatione vicinorum meorum duas marcas.—*Ibid.*, 12. Lego in convocacione amicorum tres boves, quatuor vitulos, xvj oves, iiij porcos.—*Ibid.*, 327. See also the will of John Fairfax, rector of Prescote, *ibid.*, 187. Other testamentary bequests are to a like purport: Also I will that on the day of my byrying that ilk a pur man that es at the kyrk door present have ane ob', when the Messe es done. —*Test. Ebor.*, p. 185.

[30] Lego ad distribuendum, die sepulturæ meæ, cecis, claudis, et pauperibus in lecto languentibus, x*s.*—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 325. Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, bequeathed (A.D. 1414), "to fourscore poor men and women bedridden, xxvi*l.* xiii*s.* iv*d.*, viz. to each of them vi*s.* viii*d.*"—*Test. Vet.*, i. 184. Joane, Lady Bergavenny, devised (A.D. 1434), "*cl.* . . . to be given and dealt among bed-rid men and other poor people," &c.—*Ibid.*, 226. Sir Thomas Bryan, Knight, says: "I bequeath . . . in almes at my burying, five pounds by penny mete to bed-ridden folks."—*Ibid.*, ii. 552. In his will (dated 1419), Sir Thomas de Hengrave:—Lego cuilibet pauperum vocatorum bedlawermen infra civitatem predictam (Norwich) iiij*d.* ad orandum pro anima mea.—*MSS. at Hengrave.* To bestow an alms on poor bedridden folks was a favourite pious practice up to the change of religion in this country: Stow, in his description of Houndsditch, London, lets us know how it was followed even in his early years—In my youth, I remember, devout people, as well men as women of this city, were accustomed oftentimes, especially on Fridays weekly, to walk that way purposely, and there to bestow their charitable alms, every poor man or woman lying in their bed within their window, which was towards the street open so low, that every man might see them; a clean linen cloth lying in their window, and a pair of beads; to show that there lay a bedrid body, unable but to pray only.—*Survey of London*, i. B. ii., p. 23, ed. Strype.

was not forgotten, and ofttimes a portion of the funeral alms was especially allotted by will to be bestowed as the marriage dowry for destitute orphan girls.[31]

(36) Though our old English Church, at the last words of her touching burial-service, as set forth in the Salisbury and other national uses, bade the grave to shut up the lifeless lump of clay just lowered down within it, and to let that dust moulder all unseen beneath its darksome shroud, she did not tell those friends who stood around weeping, to snatch a farewell gaze of the coffin, then go home, lock up their almsstore, and take no further heed about him or her whom they left there, but think how best they might feast, or be feasted by, the living: quite otherwise; she taught our forefathers never to forget the dead, but to let the stream of kindness flow for their sake, and thus soften the cleansing smarts felt by the undying souls of friends and kinsfolk in the other world, by daily,

[31] "I will," says Richard Towler (A.D. 1477), "that x*l.* be disposed of at my burying among poor people, and that x*l.* be given to the marriage of poor maidens not having father or mother."—*Test. Vet.*, i. 345. Thomas Spencer gave c marks to a c poor men's daughters to buy them kine at their marriage.—Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, i. 329. Dame Alice Wyche willed—to poor husbands ploughmen in the country such as have wives and children, and poor widows, and other such poor diligent labourers in poor villages, cc*l.*—item to one hundred poor householders, to have every one of them a milch cow and xiii*s.* iv*d.*, and three ewes, price xvi*d.* a piece; item, in marriage of poor maidens of good conversation in the country, and in mending the highways, cc*l.*—*Test. Vet.*, i. 337.

by weekly, monthly, or at least by yearly doles given in their name to Christ's poor here upon earth.[32] While England remained Catholic, many of its aged poor were wholly supported by these (37) means alone,[33] and a greater number owed

[32] The dead themselves are often made, in those quaint rhymes traced upon their grave-brasses, to warn the living of their death-day, and get ready for it; at the same time they bid them now to spend their wealth in works of holiness, telling them that what is hoarded here is lost, and that kept which is given unto God and the wants of the poor:—

Quisquis ades vultumque vides, sta, perlege, plora,
Juditii memor esto tui, tua nam venit hora.
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, tua posteriora
Commemorans miseris miserans pro me, precor, ora.
. . . . . .
Non homo leteris tibi copia si fluat eris
Hic non semper eris, memor esto quod morieris
Corpus putrebit, quod habes alter habebit
Es evanebit, quod agis tecum remanebit.
—Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monum.*, 223.

Verses in English, speaking the same awful truths, may be found written over some graves, thus:—

Have yis (this) in mynd and memory
Ye yat (that) liven lerneth to dy.
And beholdyth here yowr destine,
Such as ye erne, sometym weren we.
Ye sall be dyght in yis (this) aray
Be ye nere so stout and gay.
Therfor frendys we yow prey
Make you redy for to dey
Yat (that) ye be not forr sinn atteynt
At ye dey of judgment.
—*Ibid.*, 198.

As I was, so be ye, as I am, you shall be;
What I gave, that I have, what I spent, that I had:
Thus I count all my cost, what I left, that I lost.
—*Ibid.*, 207.

[33] Besides other alms, Cerne Abbey, Dorsetshire, was charged with the distribution of the following ones in behalf of its founder's

the better part of their livelihood to those alms which (38) they every morning received at the chancel door,[34] or sometimes at the high altar's end itself[35] of their (39) parish church, after having

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soul: Et in elimosina inter pauperes annuatim et in perpetuum distributa xiiij^mo die Decembris pro anima Aialmari quondam Ducis Cornubie fundatoris monasterii prædicti, &c. xlvj*s.* viij*d.* Et in victu, vestitu, lectis et aliis necessariis pro duobus pauperibus ibidem annuatim inveniendis pro anima fundatoris lxvj*s.* viij*d.* Et in elemosina panis et servicie ebdomadatim distributa xiij pauperibus vocatis freers, viz. cuilibet eorum ad valenciam iiij*d.* per septimanam pro anima ejusdem fundatoris, &c. xj*l.* *vs.* iiij*d.*—*Valor. Eccles.*, i. 256.

John Russell holds in the town of Papworth-Anneys, in the county of Cambridge, two hides and a half of land of the king (Edward I.) in capite by the serjeantry of feeding two poor persons, for the souls of his ancestors.—*Blount's Tenures*, ed. Beckwith, p. 282. Ralph Blundus and others held of our lord the king (John) half a hide of land in alms, by the service of distributing and giving one cask of ale on the day of All Saints, for the soul of our lord the king and his ancestors.—*Ibid.*, 285. It was no uncommon thing to bestow ale on the poor for the sake of the dead: Volo, says Emma Stayngate, who seems to have once carried on a brewery at York (A.D. 1369)—volo quod ipsa Agnes juret, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliis, quod durante anno predicto, de qualibet pandoxacione sive bracione quam contingat ipsam braciare, pro anima mea animabusque omnium fidelium defunctorum, quatuor lagenas de meliori servisia pauperibus ad hostium ubi solebam trahere moram, fideliter donet.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 87.

[34] Septem pauperibus dietim orantibus pro fundatore juxta ordinacionem suam, vj*l.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*—*Valor. Eccl.*, iii. 193. Elemosina distributa annuatim singulis diebus, tribus pauperibus ad hostium chori tempore magne misse pro anima Willi Nesfelde ex fundacione sua ad iij*d.* per diem imperpetuum, &c.—*Ibid.*, v. 6.

[35] Alice Digby gave land to the intent that "every day in the year, immediately after the sacring of the high Mass in the church of Colshill, and at the end of the same altar where the said Mass should so happen to be sung, to a child, *viz.* male or female whose parents are householders dwelling within the parish, and under the age of ix. years, that can and will, before the said sacring, kneel down at the said altar's end and say five *Pater nosters*, five *Aves*, and a Creede, for the soul of Simon Digby her late husband,

come thither to pray and hear the Mass sung for their departed benefactor's soul, or got, on certain days of each week, at the gates of some religious house.[36]

(40) In almost all our country parish churches, a dole was given away every Sunday throughout the year:[37] there, as soon as the High Mass had been sung, the allotted number of loaves were carried to the tomb of him or her who had bequeathed these alms, and the poor of the place gathering round received their due portion of the bread, then knelt down by the grave of their founder, and put up, all together, a prayer to God for mercy on the soul of their departed benefactor.[38] The doles given away

her's, her children's, and all Christen souls, a peny of silver sterling, &c."—Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, ii. 1013.

[36] Quinque egenis . . . orantibus pro animabus Willi Peverell et Adeline uxoris ejus . . . per septimanam *vs.*; et qualibet die Dominica j*d.* cuilibet eorum . . . in die anniversarii predicti Willi Peverell et Adeline . . . pauperibus illic advenientibus liij*s.* iiij*d.*—*Val. Eccl.*, v. 149. So many of the poor in our larger cities were fed by these alms, that the crowds who flocked to get them, at the gates of the great monasteries, often choked up the public thoroughfare, as we learn from the martyred Sir Thomas More, who says:—

I heare some saye that there is, and I see sometyme my selfe so mani poore folke at Westminster at the doles, of whom as farre as ever I heard the monkes use not to send away many unserved, that my selfe for the preace of them have ben fain to ryde another way. —*The Works of Sir Thomas More*, p. 895. London, 1557.

[37] Et in elemosina distributa inter pauperes pro animabus fundatorum, qualibet die Dominica *vs.* in toto per annum xiij*l.*—*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 280.

[38] At Tideswell Church (Derbyshire) bread is every Sunday given away to the poor on the tomb of Sampson Meurrell, who died A.D. 1462.—*Beauties of England, &c.*, iii. 481; this is but one out of the many other traces of our old Catholic Sunday doles for the dead, which might be cited as still lingering in this country.

but once in the year, were usually very large, and sometimes their distribution was not limited to the anniversary of the dead, but lasted through the next whole fortnight following.[39] One solemnity (41) of the year—Maundy Thursday—was particularly chosen by our Catholic forefathers whereon to do this work of brothers' fondness, for while they were then put in mind by the Church's services how Christ so loved us as to die for our sake, and to bequeath us his own self—his very flesh and

[39] That his father may be prayed for, Thomas Trumpe, by his will (A.D. 1528), leaves xi shillings for a jewel to be bought for Wissingset church, "and lands to keep a yearly dole of one penny-worth of bread, and one penny-worth of herring every Pulver Wednesday in Lent to every house-holder in the town."—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, x. 86. In die anniversarij Gundolphi quondam epī Roffen' in pane et alleci' dat' pauperibus annuatim in quadragesima xls.—*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 102. Pauperibus in die obitus Radulphi Deynecourte et per quatuordecem dies sequentes pro anima dicti Radulphi et pro animabus antecessorum et heredum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, &c.—*Ibid*, v. 152. Upon the day when a dole was distributed, the bellman was sent about the town to excite the people to repair to church and pray for the soul of the donor.—Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, i. 349. Upon a brass plate, fastened to the pillar nearest the grave of William Lamb, in old St. Paul's, Undercroft, were written, amid other verses, the following :—

> I pray you all who receive bread and pence
> To say the Lord's prayer before ye go hence.

—Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 77. Sir William de Clinton directed that on his anniversary day "there should be a dole to a C. poor people, *viz.* Maxstoke, and other places, to each a loaf—and every day at dinner time over and above the accustomed bread allowed to the poor, one white conventual loaf and a mess of meat out of the kitchen, together with a flagon of beer, assigned to one of the poorest people of Maxstock, or from some other place—for the health of the said founder's soul, and the souls of the persons above named, and all the faithful deceased."—Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, ii. 998.

blood, in the Eucharist which he instituted on that day, those same warm English hearts under the (42) feelings awakened at that holy season, strove to show a love for their fellow-man, by more abundant alms unto the poor living in this world, thereby to assuage the sorrows of the suffering dead in purgatory.[40]

The religion of Christ is not a cold and forgetful one; nor does the gratitude of its children die with the death of their benefactors. Never was this so beautifully shown as in some of

The Pious Customs Belonging to the Bygone Times in England.

Whether it were citizen or baron, king or bishop, who wrought any good deed for the public, and bestowed a wished-for favour, the town and (43) locality so befriended, kept up a religious re-

[40] Et in denariis solutis pro elimosina distributa pauperibus quotidie et in die cene Domini pro animabus fundatorum nostrorum, &c. xvj*l.* vj*s.* viij*d.*—*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 150. Perpetua elimosina data pauperibus in cena Domini pro animabus Henrici Hussy militis et Henrici Gilford clerici annuatim distribuenda per annum xxvj*s.* viij*d.*—*Ibid.*, 321. Distributa (elimosina) pauperibus in cena Domini juxta ordinaciones primi fundatoris, xl*s.*—*Ibid.*, iii. 193; pro animabus fundatorum.—*Ibid.*, 254. In elemosina annuatim distributa inter pauperes in cena Domini videlicet DC pauperibus dante et liberante cuilibet eorum unum panem frumenti precij obuli in toto xxv*s.*; ac cuilibet predictorum DC pauperum unum allecem vocatum a Heryng, &c.—*Ibid.*, IV. 301. Item, upon Sherethursday in almes to pray for the founders, &c. xx*s.*—*Ibid.*, 366; for the meaning of Sherethursday, see note 53, p. 145, vol. i. of this work.

membrance of the boon by praying for the soul of the giver, at the bidding of the beads every Sunday in the parish church,[41] or walking to his grave in solemn procession, once if not oftener during the year, to say over his ashes a *De profundis*, and other supplications for the dead.[42] When, too, the (44)

[41] King Eadgar gave very great frauncheses and privileges onto Bathe. In knowlege wherof they pray in al their ceremonies for the soule of king Eadgar.—Leland, *Itin.*, ii. 40. There is every Sunday prayers made in S. Hilarie chapelle (at Denbigh) for Lacey and Percy.—*Ibid.*, v. 58.

[42] Of such a pious custom, we have several interesting memorials:—"The same day after dinner the new maior was wont to go from his house to the church of St. Thomas of Acon, those of his livery going before him; and the aldermen in like manner being there met together, they came to the church of St. Paul, whither when they were come, namely in the mid place of the body of the church, between two little doors, they were wont to pray for the soul of bishop William, who, as is said, obtained great liberties by his entreaties for the city (of London) from William the Conqueror, a priest saying that office 'De profundis.' From thence they passed to the churchyard where lie the bodies of the parents of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and there they said also for all the faithful of God departed 'De profundis,' &c., near the tomb of the aforesaid parents."—Stow, *Survey of London*, t. ii. b. iv. p. 78. The procession must have been kept up some years after the change of religion, for Wharton, in his short notice of this same bishop of London, says: Quod quidem beneficium Londinenses adeo devinxit; ut anniversaria processione senatores urbis sepulchrum illius in navi ecclesiæ versus occidentem positum circuire usque ad patrum nostrorum memoriam consueverint.—*Hist. de Episcopis, &c., Londinen.*, 1695. Again, of another eminent benefactor of the city of London, we are told:—"For the great zele and love which the fore sayd bysshop of London (Robert de Braybroke) ought unto the cytye, and that by his meanys theyr lybertyes were agayn restoryd, they therfore, of theyr owne goodly dysposycion, after his decease, accustomyd theym, and yet at this day done, to goo yerely upon theyse feest full dayes folowynge, that is to say, first, the morowe after Symonde and Jude, which day the mayer takyth his charge at Westmynster, to Pawlys, and there to saye in the

heat of civil war had cooled down, such as had been killed in those unhappy broils, on either side, (45) were thought of to be prayed for; and the wayside cross at the spot whereon some popular leader had been slain,[43] and the ankret's cell and

west ende of the churche where he lyeth graven *De profundis*, for his soule and all Crysten; and in lyke maner uppon Alhalowen daye, Cristemasse day and ii. the next dayes folowyng, Newe yerys day, Twelfe day, and Candelmasse day, with also the morowe after Myghelmasse day,—all which ix. dayes not all onely the mayer and his bretherne use this progresse and kepe this obsequy, but also all the craftys of the cytie in theyr lyvereys use the same yerely."—Fabyan, *Chron.*, ed. Ellis, p. 538. Other cities of England were not behind London in such a holy work:—"There is a conduct in the market place (of Wells) derivid from the bisshopes conduct by the licens of Thomas Bekington bisshop sumtyme of Bath, for the which the burgeses ons a yere solemply visite his tumbe, and pray for hys sowle."—Leland, *Itin.*, ii. 41. The mayr of the town (of Canterbury) and the aldermen ons a yere cum solemply to the tumbe of archbishop Sudbury to pray for his sowle yn memory of his good deade (the building of the West Gate, &c.).—*Ibid.*, vii. 135. The corporation of Norwich used to keep an anniversary obit, for the souls of all the deceased benefactors to the city, whose names and gifts were all read out of a bead-roll kept for that purpose; it was held at the chapel of the college of St. Mary in the Fields, to which the court always went in procession, viz. the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, common council, the twenty-four constables of the city, then thirteen poor people in one sort of clothing, who had 2*d.* each to pray for them, then nine chaplains to perform the exequies or service, each of which had 4*d.*; at the same time 6*d.* was given in bread to the prisoners in the gild-hall, and the same to those in the castle, and 4*d.* to each house of lepers at the city gates, 12*d.* for ringing, and 4*d.* to the bell man, 4*d.* for lights, and 16*d.* for the herce.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iii. 160. The bellman's duty, as distinguished from that of the ringers, at obits, is pointed out at note 88 further on [pp. 80–82].

[43] Speaking of Wakefield, Leland says:—There was a sore batell fought in the south feeldes by this bridge. And yn the flite of the Duke of Yorkes parte, other the Duke hymself, or his sun therle of Rutheland was slayne. . . . At this place is set up a crosse in rei memoriam.—*Itin.*, i. 42. To show the spot at Pontefract whereon Thomas Earl of Lancaster had been beheaded (A.D. 1322),

little (46) chapel catching the wayfarer's eye as he wandered over some wide lonely waste where once a bloody battle had been fought, asked him to tell his beads, as he went by, for the souls of those who fell and lay buried all about him there.[44]

But it is in those many proofs of individuals' love towards departed friends and kindred, and gratitude towards departed benefactors, set forth in architectural monuments even now the most beautiful we have, or in pious and scholastic endowments[45] still the wealthiest in the land, that we may yet behold how warmly the custom of prayer for the dead was whilom cherished in England. As they sorrowed over the loss of the dead, the English, like the Anglo-Saxons, threw open the door of his prison-house to the captive, and gave freedom to the bondsman, that the departed soul might be lightened in purgatory, by the grateful prayers of those who had been released on earth (47) for its sake.[46] Our weeping

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a wooden cross was set up: later one of stone took its place, as we gather from the will of William of Northfolk, who says: Lego ad construendam unam crucem lapideam ponendam ubi crux ligneus stat versus montem Beati Thomæ juxta viam ducentem versus Bongate xs.—*Test. Eborac.*, p. 281.

[44] "There is a chapel or heremitage upon Towten Feld in token of praier and memory of men slayne there."—Leland, *Itin.*, vi. 15.

[45] In the statutes of every one of those colleges and halls built at Oxford or Cambridge during the Catholic times of England, we see how the founder expressly directed that his and his friends' and benefactors' souls should be for ever prayed for by its fellows and scholars.

[46] Alienor regina, mater prædicti ducis, reginalem curiam circumducens, de civitate in civitatem et de castello in castellum,

CROSS AT GEDDINGTON

Edward had the well-beloved of his heart, his Eleanor, not only borne to her grave with all the burial honours meet alike for England's queen and such a good and loving wife, but near unto every one of those several churches whereat the body halted for the night on its road from Lincolnshire to Westminster, he caused a handsome stone cross, fraught with the most elaborate carvings, to be built, that men for ever after on going by and seeing there the image of this princess, might be stirred to breathe a supplication to heaven in her soft, gentle, soul's behalf.[47]

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sicut ei placuit, profecta est; et missis legatis per universos comitatus Angliæ præcepit captivos omnes a carceribus et captionibus liberos reddi pro anima Henrici domini sui, &c.—Roger Hoveden, *Annal. de Richardo Primo*, p. 373 [*R.S.*, li. iii. 4].

[47] In omni loco et villa quibus corpus (Alienoræ) pausaverat, jussit rex (Edwardus I.) crucem miro tabulatu erigi ad reginæ memoriam, ut a transeuntibus pro ejus anima deprecetur, in qua cruce fecit imaginem reginæ depingi.—Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 33]. These crosses were nine in number, viz. at Lincoln, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St. Alban's, Waltham, Cheap, and Charing; that at Geddington is not mentioned in the rolls. Richard of Stowe, John of Battle, Roger and Richard of Crundale, and Dymenge de Legeri or de Reyns, built the crosses. The statues, especially those of Eleanor, were carved by Alexander of Abingdon and William of Ireland, very likely from the models in wax, the work of William Torel (*Manners and Household Expenses of England*, printed for the Roxburghe Club, p. lxxxiv.). With the exception of Dymenge de Legeri, all these workmen were English. Some who can see nothing beautiful but what is done by foreigners, wish to think Torel an Italian: for such an imagination there is not an atom of positive or presumptive evidence; and the name—William Torel—upon which all the stress is laid, sounds anything but Italian; on the contrary, very English, slightly varying from the Anglo-Saxon Thorald.

The ceremonial followed, in marking, as the corpse halted the

The once poor lowly clerk, after he (48) reached the highest honours of the Church, did not forget nor disown the kindness of those who (49) had heartened him onwards in his steep rough path, and outstretched to him a helping hand when most wanted, as he clambered over cragged difficulties in this world's path. Such an one, often, like Abp. Kempe,[48] endowed a church on purpose that those

while, the spot whereon these crosses were to be built, is set forth in the following words: Corpus ipsius (Elianoræ reginæ Angliæ) per nos transiit, et una nocte quievit. Et dati sunt nobis duo panni pretiosi, scilicet baudekyns. De cera habuimus quater-viginti libras et amplius. . . . Et cum corpus dictæ reginæ transiret per Dunstaple, in medio fori subsistit feretrum donec cancellarius regis et magnates, qui tunc aderant ibidem, locum congruum designassent, ubi postea, sumptibus regiis, crucem erigerent magnitudinis admirandæ, priore nostro tunc præsente, et aquam benedictam aspergente.—*Chronicon, sive Annales Prioratus de Dunstaple*, ed. Hearne, ii. 586 [*R.S.*, xxxvi. iii. 362, 363].

Of such way-side crosses put up for lowlier people than those of royal blood, there are still a few, once they were very numerous in this country. At Edenham . . . was an octangular cross, nine inches diameter, four sides twice as broad as the other four. The inscription, *Priez : pur : le alme : Runle : fiz : Rob :* On the other side, *Priez : pur : almeis : des : tutz :* (Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 245). Going out of Doncaster on the York road are the fragments of another of these way-side crosses, the inscription on the foot of which runs thus :—✠ Icest : Est : La : Cruice : Ote : D : Tilli : A : Ki : Alme : Deu : En : Faice : Merci : Am : This is the cross of Ote de Tilli, on whose soul God have mercy, Amen.—*Ibid.*, iii. 33. Near Cambridge there once stood a way-side cross asking the traveller to pray for one Evrard:—

> Quisquis es Eurardi memor esto Bechensis, et ora
> Liber ut ad requiem transeat absque mora.

Inscriptio in basi crucis sitæ publ: via in occident: parte de Bernewelle.—Leland, *Collectanea*, ii. 438.

[48] Kempe . . . byshope of Rochester, afterward of Chichester and London, thens translatyd to Yorke . . . thens translatyd to Cantewerbyri and made cardinall . . . was a pore husband-man's sonne of Wye where upon for to pray for the sowles of them that

friends of his early youth might ever be prayed for, at the same time that by his munificence towards his beloved university he sought to gain from all its future members a pious remembrance for his own soul.[49] Our seats of learning, (50) especially Oxford, once so looked up to by Christendom,[50] not only with readiness fulfilled these

set hym to schole and them that otharwyse preferryd hym he made the paroche churche of Wye a college, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[49] Quilibet doctor S. Theologiæ post lectionem suam ordinariam in novis scholis theologiæ dicat has preces "Anima Domini Johannis Kempe Cardinalis, et anima Domini Thomæ Kempe London. Episcopi, et animæ omnium benefactorum nostrorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant." Et quod quilibet Graduatus quandocunque prædicaturus in his tribus locis, aut aliquo istorum, viz. infra Universitatis præcinctum, ad Crucem Sancti Pauli, vel ad Hospitale Sanctæ Mariæ extra Bishopsgate London. dictos reverendos patres . . . nominatim et expresse suis orationibus commendare teneatur (*Statuta Universitatis Oxon.* in Hearne, *Antiq. of Glaston.*, p. 298). Dominus Henricus Fitzhugh, Baro, non immerito inter primos et speciales benefactores computatur et in singulis sermonibus anima ejus recommendatur.—The Syon-House *Martyrologium* MS., [formerly] in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury [now at the British Museum, Add. MS., 22,285].

[50] By a Roman pontiff in the XIV. century, Oxford was called one of the Church's pillars; and the way in which our own countrymen wrote of it, shows how high in the admiration of Christendom its learning once stood. Matt. Paris tells how it rivalled the French university, and that the youth of all countries came hither to study:—Ibidem (Oxoniam) convocata scolarum universitate quæ de diversis mundi partibus illic studuit congregata (*Hist. Angl.*, p. 574) [*R.S.*, lvii. v. 353]. Confiteri cogebantur quod Oxonialis universitas æmula Parisiensis censeri promeretur [*ibid.*]. Oxoniensis universitas . . . scola secunda ecclesiæ, immo ecclesiæ fundamentum (*ibid.*, 636) [*R.S.*, 618]. Walsingham thus addresses her: Oxoniense studium . . . quod quondam inextricabilia atque dubia toti mundo declarare consuesti, &c. (*Hist. Angl.*, 201) [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 345]; and in one of their synods, our old catholic bishops thus spoke of Oxford: Aliquando ejus fama et gloria ita percelebris apud omnes nationes et gentes christianas fuit, quod non modo hujus inclyti regni, sed et totius pene orbis homines studendi atque

(51) well-spoken wishes, but unbidden and of themselves, under true Catholic feelings, appointed the holy sacrifice to be offered up ofttimes during the year for all their dead as well as living benefactors.[51]

(52) Other works of piety, wrought either for the purpose of throwing greater solemnity around the

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discendi gratia ad eam confluxerunt (*Convoc. Præl.*, A.D. 1438, in Wilkins, *Concil.*, iii. 528). What Christian nations hold communion with Oxford now? None. Is she one within herself? No. Alas, fallen Oxford!

[51] Virtute statuti universitatis Oxford. sub pœna perjuri habebit capellanus qui pro tempore fuerit, in missis suis singulis, et in memoria commendatos specifice speciali, quorum nomina sequuntur. . . . Insuper universitas statuit et decrevit, quod pro prospero statu omnium vivorum mortuorumque, qui ad librariam illam, vel ad alios universitatis usus aliquid notabiliter contribuunt, quolibet anni quarterio de Spiritu Sancto missas tres, ac de Requiem ex vi statuti totidem celebrabit. Una cum onere dictæ Librariæ teneatur etiam universitatis missas et exequias celebrare.

Universitas statuit et decrevit quod capellanus idoneus in sacerdotio constitutus, in custodem Librariæ communis in congregatione Regentium solenni eligatur, &c.—Hearne, *Hist. of Glaston.*, p. 295.

Not only the universities, but all our old religious houses were most grateful to those who helped them in learning.

From the Syon martyrology [Add. MS. 22,285] we find (fol. 7), that once every year a service for the dead benefactors to the libraries, most likely two, there was celebrated: De exequiis pro benefactoribus Librariarum. Semel in anno . . . fiet plenum servicium mortuorum cum ix. lectionibus secundum Ordinale Sarum . . . cum missa de Requiem in crastino ad privatum altare sine sono campanarum, tempore quo alie misse sine nota dici solent.

A custom prevailed in some, most likely in all, religious establishments in this country, to pray, at grace after every meal, not only for benefactors, but for the souls of all the faithful departed: Post refectionem vero gratias Deo reddere, et pro salute vivorum et animabus fundatorum et benefactorum dicti collegii omniumque fidelium defunctorum, preces ad hoc ordinatas et confectas cotidie facere non omittant.—*Statuta Ecc. collegiatæ de Tonge*, in *Mon. Anglic.*, viii. 1408.

Church's services,[52] or to benefit the commonweal, so that by mending the roads, or rebuilding a broken-down bridge, men might be thus helped to come, with more readiness and ease, to God's altar, on the Sunday and the festival, were often done in behalf of the dead.[53] Again, when our (53) sovereigns of the old English period wished to recompense the faithful servants of the crown, they often bestowed land upon them and their offspring, on the condition that each day and for ever, the holders of the property should say so many prayers for the welfare of the king of the time, and for the souls' peace and rest of all the kings departed of this realm.[54] But

[52] Et de x^{s} annuatim solutis pro olio et cera ad ardendum semper coram crucifixo pro salute anime Margerie Gulburn. . . . Et de liij^{s}, iiii^{d} annuatim solutis pro olio et cera scilicet ad ardendum semper coram crucifixo pro salute anime domini Osberti, &c.—*Valor. Eccl.*, iv. 38.

[53] To the repair of the high-way called the causeway, in Stawyk marsh, which Walter Lord Hungerford, my father, first caused to be made, for the health of the soul of the Lady Katherine his wife (*Test. Vet.*, i. 293). Johanne Beauchamp, Lady of Bergavenny, devised "to the marriage of poer maydens dwellyng withyn my lordships c. *l.*, and to makying and emendyng of febull brugges and foul weyes, c. *l.*, and to the fynding and deliverans of poer prisoners that have been well condicioned, xl. *l.*"—*Ibid.*, 226, and Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ii. 1031. Religious feelings sweetened the homeliness of every-day life: over the parlour chimney-piece in the vicarage-house at Besthorp, Norfolk, built by Sir Thomas Downyng, priest, are these lines :—

> All you that sitt by thys fire warmyng
> Pray for the sowle of Sir Jhon Downyng.

—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 492.

[54] Thomas Winchard held land in Coningston, in the county of Leicester, in capite, by the service of saying daily five Pater-nosters and five Ave-marias, for the souls of the king's progenitors, and

nowhere do we behold our (54) forefathers' creed on Purgatory told in a more feeling and truthful way than in

Our old English Tombs and Grave-Stones.

Holding, as all our countrymen did, the true Catholic belief in the Eucharist, with a faith that was unhalting, those among them who could, often willed an altar to be built at the foot of their grave, and bequeathed an endowment for Mass to be said thereon through future ages.[55] Nigh the grave,

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the souls of all the faithful departed (Blount, *Tenures*, ed. Beckwith, p. 281). John Paternoster holds one yard-land, with the appertenances, in East-Hendred, Berks, by the serjeantry of saying, for the soul of our lord the king, one pater-noster daily.—*Ibid.*, 282. Alice Paternoster holds one yard-land in Pusey, Berks, by the service of saying every day five pater-nosters, for the souls of the king's ancestors.—*Ibid.*

[55] Convenerunt executores cum priore et conventu quod . . . exhiberent inperpetuum unum monachum divini celebrantem ad altare quod idem venerabilis pater (W. Skirlawe ep. Dunelm.) ad tumbam suam in vita sua construxit (in eccl. Dunelm.), &c. (*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 44). This was done, for we read:—Obiit A.D. 1406 (Walterus Scirlawe ep. Dunelmensis) sepultusque jacet in boreali plaga chori ecclesiæ Dunelmensis inter binas columnas, &c. Et circa utramque partem istius sepulchri in altum erigebatur ferreum clatrum curiose compositum, in quo missa quotidie pro illius anima dicebatur (W. de Chambre, *Cont. Hist. Dunel.* in *Hist. Dunel. Scriptores Tres*, p. 145). Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury (A.D. 1414), makes, in her last will, provision to maintain "one canon priest, and one secular priest, perpetually at my altar and tomb, to be made on the south side of the quire of that church, opposite to the tomb of my lord and husband, to pray for my soul, and for the souls of such others as were named," &c. (*Test. Vet.*, i. 184). Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, says: "I desire (my tomb) be made of marble . . . as also a chapel of timber surrounding it, with an altar for masses to be daily celebrated

(55) too, might sometimes be found, within a little ambry sunk into the wall, a "portoos"[56] lying on a small shelf, to which it was so fastened by a short chain, that it might be taken out easily and read, but not carried off; and an inscription asked all those who took up and used the book, to say a prayer out of it, for the soul of him who had put it there.[57] With this same object the Bible and other

thereat for the health of my soul."—*Ibid.*, 217. We give—says Henry VII.—and bequeath to the altar within the grate of our tomb, our great piece of the Holy Cross. . . . Also to the same altar . . . one Mass-book, hand-written, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 31.

[56] The service-book now called "breviarium" was named in England "portiforium," whence the words "portfory," "portehors," "portous," "portoos," come.

[57] In St. George's Chapel, Windsor, towards the eastern extremity of the south aisle, is buried Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury. Opposite to this prelate's tomb is a niche in which was anciently kept, no doubt secured to the wall by a chain, a breviary, or as it was then called, a "portoos," as may be gathered from the following inscription :—"Who lyde this booke here? The reverand fader in God Richard Beauchamp, bischop of this dyocesse of Sarysbury. And wherfor? To this entent that priestes and ministers of Goddis Church may here have the occupation there of seyying thyr devyne servyse and for alle othir that lysten to sey therby ther devocyon. Askyth he any spiritual mede; yee, as moche as oure Lord lyst to reward hym for his good entent; praying every man wôs dute or devocyon is eased by thys booke, they woll sey for hym this commũne orysoñ. Dnẽ Ihu Xpẽ; knelyng in the presence of thys holy Crosse, for the whyche the Reverand Fader in God aboveseyd hathe graunted of the tresure of the Churche to eẽy man x dayys of pardun."

On the centre stone of the adjoyning arch, the cross referred to is rudely carved, together with the figures of Edward IV. and Bishop Beauchamp beside it, on their knees.—*Beauties of England*, i. 251. The Swaffham bead-roll, read out every Whitsunday, asked prayers "for the soule of John Botewryth sumtym parson of this chirch which gaff . . . divers bokys cheyn'd in the chawnsell and in our Lady's chapell."—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vi. 220. Henry de Briggesle, chaplain, desired a breviary to be put up for common

(56) volumes were often chained to the wall, for the people's use, in different parts of a church.[58]

(57) These fine old English tombs—and how many of them are beautiful even now!—overspread with every kind of artistic ornament, and showing forth the emblems of the evangelists, and images of patron saints within rich canopies,

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use nigh his own and his friend's grave : corpus meum ad sepeliendum . . . juxta sepulchrum domini Walteri quondam vicarii ejusdem capellæ.—Item do et lego unum portiforium ponendum in quodam loco pro libro propriato, juxta sepulchrum dicti domini Walteri, &c.—*Test. Ebor.*, 131.

[58] Our English clergy were fond of bequeathing the Bible and service-books to be chained in some part of a church, for common use, with the hope of getting a prayer from those who read them: thus (A.D. 1378) Thomas de Farnylawe, canon of York Cathedral, leaves a Bible and concordance to be put in the north aisle of St. Nicholas's, Newcastle—Vellem quod concordanciæ domini mei una cum Biblia sua essent cathenatæ in porticu boriali ecclesiæ beati Nicholai Novi Castri ad usum communem pro anima mea.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 103. Nicholas de Schirburn (A.D. 1392) gives a manual to an altar: Lego unum parvum manuale ad ligandum cum una chathena cuidam formulæ vel cistæ coram altari (Sanctæ Annæ). —*Ibid.*, 172. An inventory (taken A.D. 1385) of all the things then belonging to St. George's, Windsor, gives a long list of the books chained in different parts of that chapel—Libri diversarum scientiarum cathenati in ecclesia : among them is a Bible with a Concordance.—*Mon. Ang.*, viii. 1362. "Mendyng a chayne to a boke in the quere, iid." is an expense to be found in Churchwardens' old Accompts.—*Illustrations, &c.*, p. 94. For a like purpose books were often bequeathed to a library:—Ordino quod omnes predicti libri tradantur et liberentur capellano ecclesiæ cathedralis (Ebor.) predictæ, in eorum libraria pro perpetuo remansuri pro salute animæ meæ et omnium fidelium defunctorum.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 369.

The studious industry of the secular clergy during Catholic times in England, is exemplified in "John de Exeter, clerk, who bequeathed to the collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary (A.D. 1445) books to the number of 136" (see Lacy, *Register*, vol. iii. fol. 513) —"and stated that he had written the books with his own hand, for the most part."—Oliver, *Mon. Dioc. Exon.*, p. 261 n.

and rows of shields blazoned with heraldry, and written scrolls telling the name of, and begging a prayer for, the soul of him or her whose bones lie mouldering beneath them, were not so adorned without a deep and solemn meaning, and a high and holy purpose. The monument itself, with its little chantry altar, its figures of saintly men and women now gone to (58) Christ above, and its bright colours and rich gilding, stands forth as the creed cut in stone of its tenant; and speaks what was his belief while here, what were his hopes for a hereafter. That same monument tells how its owner knew that in the "communion of saints," God's Church, whether in heaven, upon earth, or in the middle state, is and will be till time be done, linked together by one bond of love: it tells how, whilst he was living, he had asked the saints above to pray for him; and now when dead, how he cries out to the just in heaven and the good on earth to help, by their prayers, his suffering soul in purgatory: it says how he had been made to understand that all such supplications could be no otherwise available than through the merits of Christ his only Saviour, on whom alone he trusted and still trusts for his release from the cleansing torments of the middle state, and for a call unto heavenly happiness.[59] (59)

[59] In the wills and inscriptions of our old Catholic England, the broadest distinction is strongly made between Christ's mediation of redemption, and his saints' mediation of intercession.

These and other such-like splendours of the grave were not however meant to foster an earth-born

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Christ is always called upon as our only Saviour, our mediator of redemption; the saints are begged to pray unto him in man's behalf: of the Godhead forgiveness as coming at once from itself, is besought; but of the B. V. Mary, and all other saints, nothing more is asked than the help, as friends, of their prayers supplicating Heaven for that forgiveness. In her last testament, Johanne Beauchamp, Lady of Bergavenny, says: I bequethe my soule to the mercy of my blessed Saviour and Maker Jhesu Chryst, through the besechyng of his blessed Moder Mary, and alle holy companye in hevene, and my symple and wreched body to be buried, &c.—Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, ii. 1031. On an old coffin-lid, preserved in the church porch, at St. Pierre, near Chepstow, Monmouths., may be read the following rhyming inscription :—

ICI GIT LE CORS U. DE SENT PERE
PREEZ PUR LI EN BONE MANERE
KE IH'V PUR SA PASIUN
DE PHECEZ LI DONT PARDUN
AMEN. P'R.

—*Archæological Journal*, v. 165.

A grave-brass gives us these lines:—

Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miserere nobis
Et ancillis tuis sperantibus in te.
O mater Dei memento mei.
Iesu mercy, Lady help.

—Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monum.*, 180. On another:—

Mary moder mayden clere
Prey for me William Goldwyre;
And for me Isabel his wyf,
Lady, for thy joyes fyf.
Hav mercy on Christian his second wyf,
Swete Jesu, for thy wowndys fyf.

—*Ibid.*, 376. About "thy wowndys fyf," we have several notices scattered through our old national monuments; another inscription says:—

Vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina mei
Scilicet
Pia mors et passio Christi.

—*Ibid.*, 396. Henry Pisford wills that as soon as may be after his decease, there be said for him five trentals, in the worship of the five

(60) vanity, or to feed its cravings after this world's idle pomp. If our kings, our bishops, our high-(61) born ladies, our stalworth warriors — the mighty ones of this earth—asked to have, or had a burial in all things befitting the position which they held whilst here, it was that, by such funeral solemnity, the lowliest beholder, as well as near and cherished friends, might be thus the sooner stirred to pray for the soul as the corpse was

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wounds of our blessed Lord, and they to be said in five days; and the priest that says Mass, to remember the first day the wounds of the right hand, the second day the wounds of his left hand, the third day the wounds of his most precious and blessed heart, the fourth and the fifth days the wounds of his two feet, and to have him (Henry Pisford) in remembrance, and pray to the blessed Lord of Heaven, for the blood that He shed out of those five wounds, to have mercy on him, and to take him to his grace; and in worship of the said five wounds, he willed that his executor should cause to be made five lights, and set them before the picture of our Lord in the Greyfriars' Church, &c.—Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, i. 185. On one of the brasses, copied by Weever, are written these lines:—

Who that passyth by this way,
For mercy of God, behold, and pray
For all souls christen, and for us
On (one) Pater noster and an Ave.
To the blessyd saynts and owr blessyd Lady
Saynt Mary to pray for us.

—*Ant. Fun. Monum.*, 444. Nothing is more common than the prayer "Jesu mercy, Lady help;" or thus:—

X. (Christ) me spede. Dere Lady help at nede.

—*All Saints' Church, Stamford.* And again:—

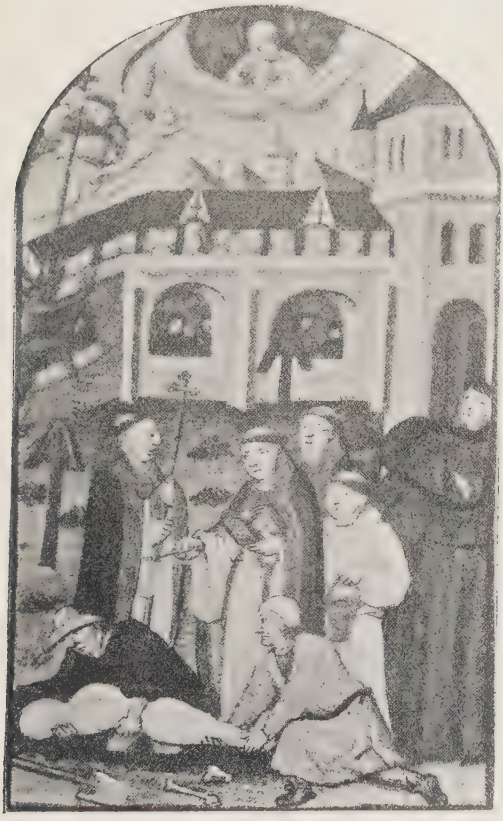
Robert Were preest und this stoñ lyth
That Iħu m'cy and Ladỳ help crỳeth
Prayeth for mỳ soole for charyte now,
As ye wolde other dede for yow.

—*Willbrooke, Beds.*

carried by.[60] Whilst (62) they begged to be laid after death in an ornamented tomb, or wished to

[60] I will that my body . . . be carried unto the place of my burying . . . with all the worship that ought to be done unto a woman of mine estate, which, God knoweth well, proceedeth not of no pomp or vain glory that I am set in for my body, but for a memorial and remembrance of my soul to my kin, friends, servants, and all other.—*Will of Joanne Lady Bergavenny* (A.D. 1434), in *Test. Vet.*, i. 225. As we noticed before (vol. ii. 395), it was a custom in this country to set a waxen figure of the dead over the corpse: among the charges for the burial of Thomas abbot of St. Austin's Canterbury, there is one—pro corpore ficto cum hersia.—*Chron. W. Thorn*, ed. Twysden, ii. 2152. More than one of such effigies were sometimes made for the same personage, as we learn from the funeral expenses of Queen Eleanor:—In cccc. et di. et i. quarterio et iij. lib. ceræ emptis pro imaginibus supra viscera Reginæ (Eleanoræ) apud Lincolniam et apud fratres Prædicatores Londoniæ, ix. *li.* xviij*s.* ix*d.*—*Manners, &c., of England, &c.*, 122. Her bowels were buried at Lincoln; her heart in the church of the friars preachers, London; her body at Westminster. That such figures were wrought by the best artists of the day and coloured, appears from other entries in the same document: Magistro Willielmo Torel in partem solutionis pro factura imaginis supra viscera reginæ apud Lincolniam xl*s.*—*Ibid.*, p. 125. Magistro Alexandro imaginatori, in perpacationem, pro factura ceræ pro iij. parvis imaginibus apud fratres Prædicatores Londoniæ et Lincolniæ, pro regina, vi. marc. et di.—*Ibid.*, 129. The object for such a custom is well set forth in the following description of our Henry V.'s funeral:—Superposita namque fuerat cistæ, in qua corpus ejus (Regis Henrici V.) habebatur, quædam imago staturæ et faciei Regis mortui simillima, chlamyde purpurea satis longâ et larga, cum furrura de ermyn induta, sceptrum in una manu, et pila rotunda aurea, cum cruce infixa in altera; corona aurea in capite, super capellum regni, et sandalis regiis in pedibus, impositis. Et taliter elevatur in curru ut a singulis videri potuisset, ut per hoc mœror et dolor accresceret, et ejus amici et subditi pro ejus anima Dominum tenerius exorarent (Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, ed. Camden, 407) [*R.S.*, xxviii. ii. 345, 346]. Others, in great lowliness of heart, wished to be buried without even a coffin, but merely in a winding sheet wrapped about them: bodies so shrouded are sometimes figured on old grave-brasses. Hence was it that Dame Maud de Say (A.D. 1369), in her last will ordered:—immediately after my decease my corpse shall be carried to burial, covered only with a linen cloth having a red

have their armorial (63) bearings fixed about the holy buildings, often did the dignified churchmen



Old English Funeral

cross thereon, &c. (*Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. Nicolas, i. 83). In that truly splendid, and for English art, most valuable manuscript, the Sherbourne Missal, now belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, written out by John Whas, a monk of that house, about the end of Edward III.'s reign, there may be seen, at folio 686, over the *Missa pro omnibus defunctis*, an illumination, wherein the dead bodies are wrapped in white, and have their heads marked with red crosses, seemingly three in number, upon each figure,

and the nobles of this land declare that their wish in doing so, was to awaken thereby, through ages to come, a kind remembrance of themselves in each beholder's thoughts, and thus win a short prayer for their souls from him, the while he stopped and gazed upon their sepulchre, or looked at their escutcheon.[61] Well, too, does the monu-

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though two only of these crosses are shown. Thomas de Boynton, Knight (A.D. 1402), says in his will: Volo quod quandocumque anima mea exierit de corpore, volutus fuero in eodem linthiamine in quo morior, et in tumulo absque mora ponar (*Testam. Ebor.*, 287). John de Burton, rector of St. Helen's, York (A.D. 1407), speaks of his burial thus: Præcipiens et inhibens executoribus meis ne corpori meo cistam ligneam vel alia indumenta præparent, nisi tantummodo unum lintheamen pro corpore meo involvendo (*ibid.*, 349). The usual custom was for priests to be buried in their sacred vestments; hence Peter de Bolton, the rector of another church, says (A.D. 1414): Quod parochiani dictæ ecclesiæ de Scrayngham concedant michi unam veterem casulam in qua intendo sepiliri (*ibid.*, 371). Among the vestments at Salisbury Cathedral (A.D. 1222), there was Ad sepeliendum magistrum Th. Thesaurarium, casula una.—Wordsworth, *Salisbury Cerem.*, 175.

[61] Upon the arch overspreading the tomb of Prior Bozoun, in Norwich Cathedral, are written these lines :—

> O tu qui transis, vir, aut mulier, puer an sis,
> Respice picturas, apices lege, cerne figuras,
> Et memor esto tui, sic bene disce mori.

—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iii. 605. Round a grave-brass in Gillingham Church, Kent, runs the inscription following :—

> Es testis, Christe, quod non jacet hic lapis iste,
> Corpus ut ornetur, sed spiritus ut memoretur ;
> Hinc tu qui transis medius, magnus puer an sis,
> Pro me funde preces, quia sic michi venie spes.

—Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 822. In St. Stephen's, Norwich, under the two effigies on the grave-brass of Robert Brassyer, is this legend :—

O vos omnes picturas istas intuentes, devotas ad Deum fundite preces pro animabus Roberti Brassyer . . . et Christiane uxoris ejus, quibus requiem eternam donet Deus, Amen (Blomefield

ment itself bespeak those longings: (64) the prelate arrayed in his pontificals, the king in his garments of royalty, the priest in his (65) sacrificial vestments, the soldier armour-clad, and with the white or red flower blazoned about him to tell which side he took in the wars between the rival houses, with his collar round his neck showing us by its suns and roses that he had been for York, or by its SS that he had gone with Lancaster[62]—and all the decorations of knighthood

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Norfolk, iv. 155). On a grave-stone in Beeston Church in the same county, it is declared:—

> Not for an ornament of the body this ston was laid here,
> But only the soul to be prayed for, as charite requere.

—*Ibid.*, viii. 89. Another grave-inscription in St. Foster's, London, says:—

> Now ye that are liuing, and see this picture
> Prey for me here whyle ye have time and spase
> That God of his goodness would me assure
> In his euerlasting mansion to haue a plase.

—Weever, *Ant. Monum.*, 178.

> Quisquis ades vultumque vides, sta, perlege, plora
> Judicii memor esto tui, tua nam venit hora, &c.

—*Ibid.*, 223. Thomas Earl of Derby says in his will (A.D. 1504):—Having provided a tomb to be there placed with the personages of myself and both my wives for a perpetual remembrance to be prayed for (*Test. Vet.*, ii. 458). Joan Viscountess L'Isle makes the following insertion in her last testament:—I will that my executors cause to be made and set up on the high rood-loft in the church of St. Michael upon Corn-hill, two escotcheons, the one of them with the arms of my right noble lord and husband the Viscount L'Isle and my own arms jointly, and the other of the arms of my right worshipful husband Robert Drope and my own jointly, to the intent that our souls by reason thereof may the rather be remembered and prayed for.—*Ibid.*, ii. 466.

[62] The Lancastrian red rose and the Yorkist white were symbols of our country's strife but too well known to all who have read

on, (66) and having at his side his noble dame in the robes of her estate, the franklin in his

English history. York's white rose and the sun, the token of that bloody fight at Mortimer's Cross, and victory gained there by Edward IV. over the Lancastrians, were strung together into a collar, with the white lion of the house of March hanging from it, and given by that king to his party. As early, however, as the first year of Henry IV.'s reign, the followers of this king might always be known by the collar which they wore of his house of Lancaster. When the Earl of Kent arose against him—detraxit (comes Cantii) signa Regis (Henrici quarti), scilicet collaria, de collis quorundam quos vidit ibi habentes signa talia, cum despectu, dicens non esse gestandum de cætero tale signum (Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.*, ed. Camden, 363) [*R.S.*, xxviii. ii. 244]. The ornaments composing this Lancastrian emblem were nothing more than the letter S, multiplied many times, and linked one to the other.

This celebrated collar of esses or SS has hitherto been an archæological puzzle. What these esses mean, and wherefore they have been employed, has often been asked: the following solution is offered. In his very interesting will, John of Gaunt made this, amongst other bequests, to his very dear son Henry Duke of Hertford, who afterwards became Henry IV.:—Je ly devise un fermail d'or del veil manere et escript les nouns de Dieu en chescun part de icel fermail, la quel ma treshonore dame et miere la roigne que Dieux assoile me donna en me commandant que je la gardasse ovecque la benison et vueille q'il la garde ovecque la beneson de Dieu et la mien (*Test. Ebor.*, 231). This chain of gold, after the old manner with God's name written on each part of it, seems to have been a kind of heirloom in the house of Lancaster: John of Gaunt's mother had had and left it to him, along with her blessing, and wishes that he should keep it: in his turn John of Gaunt handed it down, with the same wishes, to his son Henry. That the letter S, especially when woven into a collar, became a well-known cognizance and a part of the livery (as the word was then understood) belonging to John of Gaunt and his house, seems certain; for in an indenture of plate, &c., once belonging to Edward III. and Richard II., we find mention made of—un paire de basynys d argent ennorrez . . . ove (un) coler gravez ove lr̃es de S. del liv̆e de Monsr de Lancastr̆ t̃ le cov̆ekir̆ ove une corone desuis grauez ove lr̃es de S. entoure; t̃ les armes de Monsr de Lancastr̆ dedeins.—*Ant. Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, iii. 322. The name of God was written on every piece composing this collar. What was that name? The liturgy will tell us:

burgher dress—(67) each lies before us outstretched on his tomb, with hands meekly clasped upon his breast and uplifted towards heaven, beseeching its forgiveness towards his sins, and asking, by an inscription, in which he (68) often calls the lowliest clown his kinsman,[63] every one here to pray for him. At Canterbury Cathedral,

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it was SANCTUS contracted into simple S. According to the Salisbury use, when the crucifix on Good Friday was about to be uncovered, there were sung these words several times: "Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, miserere nobis," as we find in the *Sarum Processional*, in Die Paras., fol. lx., A.D. 1528, and fol. lxvii., A.D. 1555 [ed. Henderson, 1882, p. 69]. Moreover, in the "Preces" at the hour of Prime, the Salisbury portoos or breviary recites the same words. Every day at mass, not only was said the hymn, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, &c., but whilst the priest was going through it, a bell, called from that circumstance the "Sancte-bell," was solemnly rung. Furthermore, in the "Te Deum" comes the verse, "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth." Now, as the people, during the Catholic times of this country, more particularly the higher class, thoroughly knew the prayers of the church-services, it is not to be wondered at that words so striking should have left a deep impression on their minds, and that a princely house like that of Lancaster should, in assuming an emblem of God's name, take the SS of the SANCTUS repeated, and weave them into a collar.

[63] O vos omnes qui hic transitis, pro me orate;
Precibus vestris, qui fratres estis, meque iuvate.

—in Erith Church, Kent (Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monum.*, 129).

John, sixth abbot of St. Alban's, had the following lines written beneath some stained glass windows which he put up:—

Propicii patres, compassive quoque matres
Orat, ut oretis, sua quod sit pausa quietis
Vester adoptatus hic filius intumulatus.

—*Ibid.*, 328.

Thou art my brother or my sister,
Pray for me a Pater Noster.

—On a grave-brass, Morley, Derbyshire.

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above the Black Prince's grave, may yet be seen the velvet surcoat embroidered with the arms of England and France, the helm, the gauntlets, the short dagger, and the shield, all of which that warrior once wore; but they were set up there less to tell of the hardihood and hundred battles of him—the boy who won his spurs at Cressy—the man who fought and gained, against such fearful odds, the fight at Poitiers—than to bid us call upon Christ for mercy on the soul of Edward Plantagenet,[64] sometime Prince of Wales. The helmet, (69) and the breast-plate, and the gloves of steel, which we yet find rusting on the walls of many of our village churches, and that once had drooping over them banner and pennon

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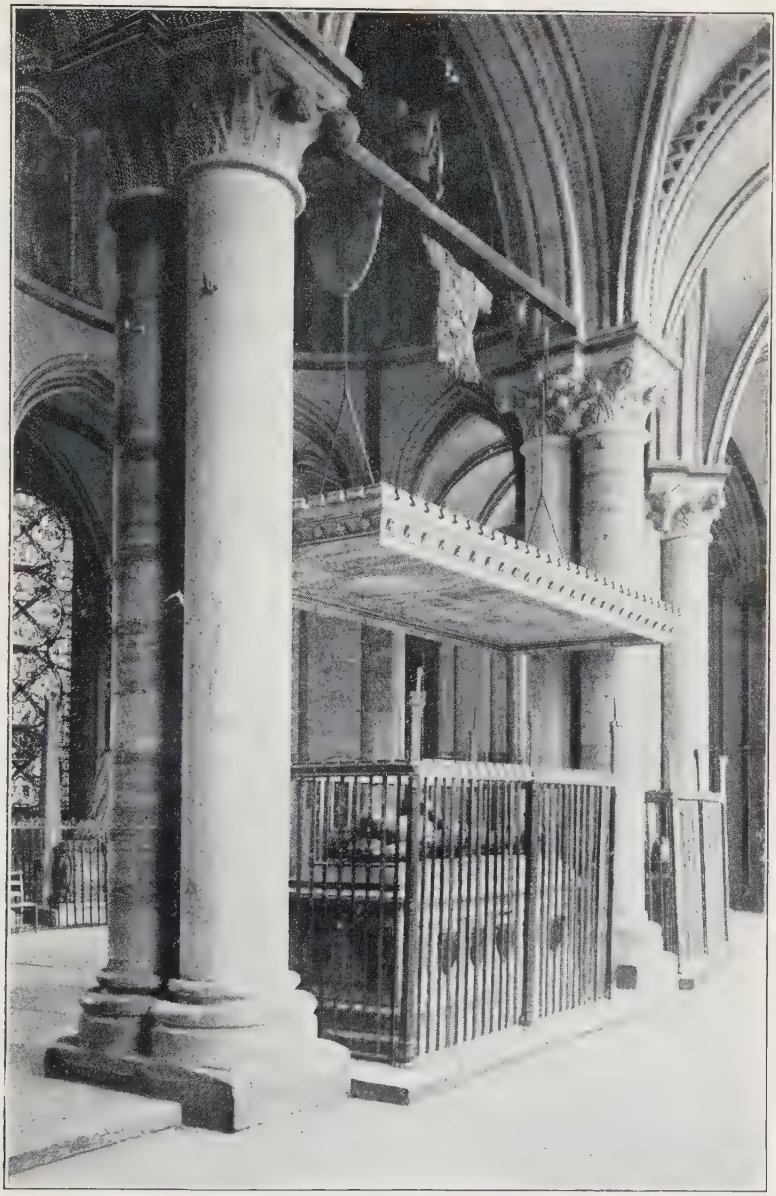
[64] How meek, how touching, how truly catholic, is the inscription on the grave of one so high, and who made such a noise here:—Cy gist le noble prince Monss. Edward, &c. Lalme de qi Dieu eit mercy. Amen.

> Tu qi passez ove bouche close
> Par la ou ce corps repose, &c.
> . . . . .
> Pour Dieu priez au celestien roy
> Qe mercy ait de l'alme de moy.
> Tous ceulx qi pur moy prieront
> Ou a Dieu macorderont
> Dieu les mette en son paradis
> Ou nul ne poet estre chetiffs.
>
> —Dart, *Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, 80.

The inscription on the tomb of another flower of English knighthood, begins thus:—

Preith devoutly for the sowel whom God assoille of one of the most worshippful knyghtes in his dayes of monhode and conning, Richard Beauchamp, late Eorl of Warrewik, &c.—As may be seen in the beautiful Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.



TOMB OF THE BLACK PRINCE AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

and blazoned tabard now all in tatters, or dropped clean away, were hung up there by Catholic hands, above the grave of some Catholic knight, while England was yet Catholic, for the same Catholic purpose of beseeching the prayers of the people for his soul.[65] With like (70) cravings was it that the wealthy yeoman, or flourishing trader, who bestowed anything, for the splendour or becoming performance of the liturgy, upon his parish church, besought to have his name written on his gift.[66]

The memorials of the dead, whether goodly little buildings in themselves, richly dight in gilding and colour, or unadorned, simple gravestones, were thought of and provided, for no other object—and rightly so—than, by the cross marked

[65] Under this feeling was it that Thomas Maners says: my bodie to be buryd in the quere . . . w^t soulle messe and derege the day of my buriall for my soule and all Christen soules, and my coat armoure to be sett upon my gravye for remembrans, &c. (*Wills of the Northern Counties*, 122). Sometimes, as it would seem, a knight's armour, after his death, was set up in the church where he lay buried, upon a wooden figure of St. George. John Arden says, in his will: I bequethe my white harneis complete to the church of Aston, for a George to wear it, and to stand on my pewe, a place made for it: provided always that if the said George be not made within a year after my decease, that then I will that mine executors do sell it, and hire a priest to sing in the chapell of Orton so long as the money will extend.—Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ii. 928.

[66] Have mercy good Lord on the soul of Thomas Holden,
That hit may rest with God good neyghbors say Amen.
He gave the new organs, whereon hys name is set:
For bycause only yee shold not hym forget
In yowr good preyers, &c.
—Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monum.*, p. 382.

upon them,[67] (71) to utter, in behalf of those beneath, a belief in Christ and his Church, and a hope for happiness in heaven through his merits,[68] at the same time that they begged,

[67] Describing an old grave-brass in St. Alban's abbey-church, Weever says: "Upon the same marble, under the picture of the cross, these words are engraven, which the aforesaid 'Smith' seems to speak:—

By this tokyn of the holy cross
Good Lord sav our sowls from loss.

Elizabeth his wife these:—

Cryst who dyed for us on the rood tree
Sav the sowl of my hosbond, owr chyldren, and mee."

—*Ibid.*, 333.

[68] This is strongly set before our eyes in almost every old tomb; a few examples will be enough:—

"But in this passage, the best song that we say can
Is Requiem eternam, now Jesu grant hit mee,
When we have endyd all our adversitee
Grant us in paradise to have a mansion
That shed his blood for our redemption.
Therefore we tenderlye requier yee
For the souls of John Benson
And Anne hys wyff, of your charitie
To say a Pater noster and an Ave."

—Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monum.*, 175.

Lord, of thy infinit grase and pitee
Haue mercy on me, &c.

—*Ibid.*, 178.

Wherfor Jesu that of Mary sproung
Set theyr soulys thy saynts amoung
Though it be undeservyd on their syde
Yet, good Lord, let them evermore thy mercy abyde.
And of your cheritie
For their souls say a Pater noster and an Ave.

—*Ibid.*, 180. The following verses are not uncommon:—

Qu A D T D P
os nguis irus risti ulcedine avit
H Sa M Ch M L

—*Ibid.*, 207.

for his love's and for charity's sake, (72) to be recommended to his mercies in the prayers of the living.[69]

To quicken the faithful in the discharge of such a brotherly kindness, our old English bishops often granted a ghostly reward — an indulgence, or, as it was then better called, a "pardon" of so many days—unto all those who with the fitting dispositions should answer this call made to them from the grave, and pray especially for him or her who lay buried there.[70]

Ecce sub hoc tumulo coniux uxorque iacemus
Eternam pacem donet utroque Deus.
Nil unquam abstulimus, si quod benefecimus ulli,
Est qui pro meritis premia digna dabit
Est tamen una salus Christi miseratio, quam qui
Transis, ambobus sepe precare Deum.
—*Ibid.*, 349.

Jesu noster saueor de la grande pite
De lor almes eit mercie. Amen.
—*Ibid.*, 110.

Haue mercy on my sowl yat bowght hit with yi (thy) bloodde.
—*Ibid.*, 76.

Jhu for thy marcy their sowlys now save.
—Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ii. 1079.

[69] In his last testament, Edmund Hampden (A.D. 1419), writes thus: I will that a white stone be placed over me and Joane my wife, with this writing—

Ye yat this see Pray ye for charite
For Edmund's soul and Jane's, a paternoster and an ave.
—*Test. Vet.*, i. 200.

For the love of Jesu pray for me,
I may not pray now, pray ye
That my peynes lessyd may be
With on (one) Pater Noster and on (one) Ave, &c.
—Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monum.*, 83.

[70] Often would the bishop of the diocese grant an indulgence of forty days to all those who should stop and say a prayer over the

(73) If some of these old funeral monuments be beautiful, all of them are most precious as

grave in behalf of the buried person's soul; and not unfrequently such a privilege is mentioned in the inscription on the tomb-stone, thus:—

Dame Jone de Cobeham gist ici,
Dieu de sa alme eit merci.
Kire pur le alme priera
Quarante jours de pardoun avera.

—Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 764.

The friends of the dead strove and got as many prelates as they could, to exercise their canonical right of bestowing a like favour: and in some instances, such as that of a high personage, the roll of episcopal names was a long one: two sheets of parchment were needed for writing down the list of bishops, each of whom gave an indulgence on behalf of Eleanor, Edward I.'s queen:—Pro duabus cedulis continentibus indulgentias dierum pro anima reginæ (Eleanoræ) per diversos prælatos concessas, scribendis et perficiendis (*Manners and Expenses of England*, &c., printed for the Roxburghe Club, p. 137). That no bishop should ever, except at a church's dedication, grant an indulgence of more than xl. days, was decreed by the General Council of Lateran (A.D. 1215): Decernimus, ut cum dedicatur basilica, non extendatur indulgentia ultra annum, sive ab uno solo, sive a pluribus episcopis dedicetur: ac deinde in anniversario dedicationis tempore quadraginta dies de injunctis pœnitentiis indulta remissio non excedat: hunc quoque dierum numerum indulgentiarum litteras præcipimus moderari, quæ pro quibuslibet causis aliquoties conceduntur, cum Romanus Pontifex, qui plenitudinem obtinet potestatis, hoc in talibus moderamen consueverit observare.—*Concil. Later.*, IV. cap. lxii., Harduin, *Conc.*, vii. 66.

Very soon afterwards, this wholesome discipline for checking the overgrowth of Indulgences became a part of the canon law in this country. Archbishop Peckham, in his Statutes (published A.D. 1280), observes:—Cum salubriter sit statutum, ut prælati in indulgentiis conferendis xl dierum numerum non excedant, ne claves ecclesiæ contemnantur . . . caveant alii quicunque, ne per multiplicatas indulgentias a prælatorum gratia quæsitas dedecus faciant prælatis ecclesiæ, &c.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 48. Our English bishops did not always grant a xl. days' indulgence; but sometimes those days amounted but to xx., sometimes to xxx., as well as xl.—See the *Priory of Finchale*, p. 179.

Amongst some it was imagined that an Indulgence became widened

witnessing (74) to the creed and the religious usage of our forefathers. These tombs speak to us

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by as many xl. days as there were bishops who had agreed to give it; hence we at times find mention of longer periods, which, though not always, are usually some multiple of xl., thus :—

> Johan La Gous . . . gist issi
> Prie pur l'alme de lui
> Ky pur l'alme de lui priere
> Cent jours de pardoun avere.

—(once in St. Neot's, Beds., but now gone, though preserved in Gough's engraving); and in the inscription on the tomb of William de Basynge, Prior of Winchester:—Hic jacet Willelmus de Basynge quondam prior istius Ecĉe, cujus anime propicietur Deus: et qui pro a'ia ejus oraverit III annos C et XLV dies indulgencie percipiet. This latter monument shows us how the indulgence of xl. days must have been multiplied by 31, the number, no doubt, of bishops who had concurred in granting it, to make the time amount to as much as three years, one hundred and forty-five days: 3 years being equal to 1095 days, which, along with 145 days, make 1240, which, divided by 40, give 31.

Such a system for the enlargement of indulgences granted to encourage any work of holiness, was, however, quite against the Church's meaning, as we gather from the Lateran decree above quoted; and our own canons forbade it under the name of "indulgenciæ multiplicatæ," to use the words of Archbishop Peckham, just cited. Was there any good then in getting more than one bishop to concede his indulgence? Certainly; and Lyndwood tells us wherefore. This old English canonist lays it down for a rule that as no bishop has spiritual power over other than his own spiritual subjects, so no person can gain any indulgence but the one accorded by his own diocesan :—Plures episcopi sub una litera apponentes sigilla sua, vel simul existentes, prout sæpius contingit, ad crucem Sancti Pauli concedunt, et quilibet eorum concedit xl. dies indulgentiæ. In quo casu indulgentia non excedit in toto numerum xl. dierum, sicut legitur *eo. ti. c. fi. li.* 6, qd capitulum, ut ibi dicit *Card.* fuit editum contra tales fraudes. Unde tantum dat unus sicut omnes. . . . Ratio potest esse, quia indulgentia unius episcopi non prodest nisi subditis suis propriis, &c. (*Provinciale*, v. 16, p. 336, note s). According then to this, were any one from Durham, for instance, to have gone, let us say, into Westminster Abbey, and prayed at Queen Eleanor's grave for her soul, that person could not have gained the indulgence

Catholic England's (75) belief in the all-atoning merits of our only Redeemer Christ—her belief in

of xl. days held out to all those who should do so, if at no time a bishop of Durham had consented to the granting of it: the man or woman, however, from any see in the world whose bishop had

Brass of Roger Legh

been one among those who allowed the indulgence, by fulfilling its conditions, would have earned it. Lyndwood makes one exception; and it is in favour of an archbishop whose indulgence of xl. days is to be reckoned over and above the xl. days of any of his suffragans; so that, under such a circumstance, an indulgence of lxxx. days could be gained:—Verum tamen est, qd quoad

the unfitness of (76) man's soul to go to heaven until cleansed from every smallest speck of sin by

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indulgentias concessas per archiepiscopum, singuli de provincia sunt sui subditi. Unde si archiepiscopus et episcopus simul existentes concedant, et uterque eorum concedat xl. dies indulgentiæ; ille qui est subditus episcopi habebit lxxx. dies, xl. scilicet ab archiepiscopo, et xl. a suo episcopo. Alius vero provincialis non subditus dicti episcopi solum habebit xl. dies, &c. (*ibid.*). The only authentic indulgence of a specified time longer than this, was one of a hundred days, for the bestowing of which Walter Raynold (Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1313), had an especial privilege from Pope Clement V.: Clemens, &c., fratri W. in archiepiscopum Cantuar. electo . . . præsentium tibi auctoritate concedimus, ut cum te Missarum solennia celebrare contigerit, seu proponere verbum Dei, possis omnibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis, qui hujus modi celebrationi seu propositioni devote interfuerint, centum dies de injunctis sibi pœnitentiis misericorditer relaxare.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 435.

With these documents before us, we can have no kind of doubt but those startling indulgences of so many thousand years, some few stray traces of which may yet be found among our old national monuments, were spurious and imaginary. On his grave-brass in Macclesfield Church, Roger Legh is figured kneeling, with this sentence coming out of his mouth—"a dampnacione perpetua libera nos dñe"—on one side, but above him is a "St. Gregory's Pity" (a subject of which we have spoken before, vol. i. p. 45), but in this representation of it, the pontiff alone is shown, and beneath is written, "The ꝑdon for saying of v. pater nost̃. and v aves and a cred is xxvi thousand yeres and xxvi dayes of pardon." Roger Legh died, A.D. 1506. On rebuilding the church of Quatford, Shropshire, were found a number of figures painted on the walls, representing the day of judgment, and on a piece of vellum nailed to an oak board the figure of Christ rising from the sepulchre, and these lines under him :—

> Saynt Gregory and other popes
> and byschops grantes sex and
> twenty thousand zere of pardon t̃
> thritti dayes to alle that saies devoutelye knelyng afor yⁱˢ ymage fife
> paternosters, fyfe aves and a cred.

—Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, ii. 409. Other indulgences, or pardons, as they were called, may be seen in the "Hours of the B.V. Mary," according to Salisbury use [Hoskins, *Horæ*, passim].

the sacred blood (77) which Jesus shed for all mankind upon the cross—her belief in the existence

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If while blaming certain indulgences of a very much shorter length, the General Council of Lateran, in the thirteenth century, branded them as "indiscretæ et superfluæ" (Harduin, *Conc.*, vii. 66); if, too, our own provincial synods forbade them, and, two hundred years afterwards, writers in this country, like the jurist Lyndwood, leaning on the words of a Roman cardinal, call them frauds (*see above*), we must believe those later and before-mentioned exaggerated indulgences to have been put forth not by ecclesiastic and lawful authority, but by private individuals with more piety than learning, and whose zeal was not unto knowledge. Though, from this, it follows that such indulgences were far short of the worth set down to them, it will not be amiss to seek out their origin.

As was said just now, some there were who supposed that every bishop's xl. days enlarged by so much an indulgence for whatever work of holiness it happened to be granted; thus we are told of Ralph, Bishop of Wells, who died A.D. 1363;—Plures indulgentiæ sunt concessæ omnibus locum ejus sepulturæ visitantibus et devote pro anima ipsius Radulphi orantibus.—*Angl. Sacr.*, i. 569. Upon this principle, our monastic writers, while recording the events of their particular house, were not only careful to note down the name of each bishop who had ever granted his indulgence to the pious visitors of the minster, but sometimes, after casting up the whole number of days into one sum, proclaimed that the indulgence to be gained there amounted to so many years: for instance, while giving us the "Nomina episcoporum qui nobis aliqua contulerunt," one of the monks of St. Alban's says:—Summa dierum indulgentiæ quas isti episcopi et alii summi sacerdotes huic ecclesiæ contulerunt se extendit ad novem annos octies viginti decemque dies.—*Mon. Anglic.*, ii. 219; and more nicely still the historian of Glastonbury speaks of his own church:—Cartæ pontificum de indulgenciis concessis Glastoniensi ecclesiæ sive fabricæ ecclesiæ.

Nicholaus Tusculanensis episcopus et legatus Angliæ xxx. dies indulgenciæ concessit.
Idem dedit xx. dies.
J. legatus Angliæ xx. dies.
Hubertus Cantuariensis arch. xx. dies.
Richardus Cantuariensis arch. xv. dies.
Item Richardus Cantuariensis xxx. dies et confirmavit ii paria.

of a place beyond the (78) grave, a purgatory, wherein the truly sorrowing sinner's soul must

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Stephanus Eboracensis arch. xiii. dies.
Bernardus Ragusine arch. lx. dies.
Jocelinus Ardacadensis episcopus xv. dies.
Gervasius Menevensis episcopus xl. dies et ii. paria.
Robertus Lammensis episcopus xx. dies ad fabricam et x. ad reliquias.

IMAGE OF PITY

Radulfus Kildarensis episcopus xiii. dies.
E. Landavensis episcopus xx. dies.
Et multi alii.
Summa DCCCC. IX. dies.
—*Johannes Glaston.*, p. 385.

For stirring up his flock to think upon Christ's bitter pangs upon the cross, and thereby awaken within their hearts a true sorrow for sin, a bishop (as we may readily suppose) granted an

have all its stains washed away (79) in that blood, amid sharp but temporary pangs—her belief in the assurance that one of those means (80) through which Christ's blood comes to be so applied, is the "communion of saints," or that help afforded to those souls in purgatory by the faithful upon earth, in the prayers, the fastings, the alms-deeds which they offer unto God for the dead.

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indulgence, or, as it was better called, a "pardon" of xl. days out of that time which ought, according to the canons, to be spent in working out the penance due to the individual's sins, under the condition that certain prayers should be said, and the better to help their pious thoughts, before a figure of our Lord showing his blood-stained wounds. Seeing how much good had been thus wrought, many other bishops throughout the Church did the same thing, and the supreme pontiff, the Pope himself, to show how he liked and wished to behold the spreading of such a religious exercise, bestowed his indulgence of xl. days to all who should worthily perform it. As soon, then, as this particular devotion began to grow into favour with the people, to forward it still more those zealous but indiscreet magnifiers of indulgences bethought themselves first, of all the xl. days of pardon ever granted by any bishop to the exercise of that devotion in one particular church; then, in all the churches of one particular country; then, in every place over all Christendom; and, at last, taking the Pope's indulgence or pardon to be a ratification of each and all the others, they added up the whole, and let the sum come to what it might—whether to two, or twenty-six, or thirty thousand years and some odd days, it mattered not—they unhesitatingly gave out that such was the length of the indulgence to be gained by every one, and in every place, each time the devotion itself was duly performed. Such, to my thinking, was the way in which those extraordinary indulgences sprang up: they were put forth, not by lawful, but private authority; and thus being frauds, the Church has always blamed and forbidden them. The dispositions and conditions required for gaining any of these "pardons" have been slightly noticed before in this work, while speaking of the indulgenced mazer-bowl (see vol. ii. 276, 277).

(81) It is not every Englishman who, in these our days, while he stops to spell the words half-eaten away by time on the old Christian Briton's cross in Wales or Cornwall, or looks for the spot where our British Arthur was buried at Glastonbury and our Anglo-Saxon Ælfred near Winchester, or stoops him down to read the legend running round the flat Anglo-Norman grave-stone, and bends over the high tomb of the English period, will do what those monuments ask of him —say a prayer for the dead beneath them, and thus hold communion in faith with all those who have ever lived in this island since the time that Christianity was brought hither, till the sad epoch of the lustful Henry's reign. Only he who still clings fast to the ancient creed, only the Catholic can comply with such a behest. When this country forsook its old for a newly-born belief, it threw off its old pious usages: in wedding itself unto a new religion, it brought up new religious customs; a new bride is always arrayed in new fresh garments. Nowhere does the Protestant Establishment of England show a wider departure from those devotional practices followed by this land during ages gone by, than in what belongs to the burial of the dead.

Nine-tenths of the funeral monuments erected by Protestantism in this country, are highly blamable for several reasons: they show a heathenish rather than a Christian feeling in their words,

their ornaments, and symbolism: their "Sacred to the (82) memory" of no matter who, however black and well-known a sinner, startles those who think that nothing can be sacred to man, but only to God and God's worship; their fulsomeness and utter want of truth while praising the departed, outdo anything of that kind in the pagan world itself, so that to "lie like an epitaph,"[71] has grown into a saying; nay, downright pagan instead of Christian (83) sentences may be sometimes found inscribed upon them.[72]

[71] The object of the old Catholic epitaphs, which were almost always very short, was not to tell boasting untruths of the dead, but to stir the reader to pray for them: Respicias lector nostrum epitaphium ut ores pro nobis Deum, says an inscription in Sevenoaks church, Kent.—Weever, 118.

Neptune, Hercules, Victory winged, and wingless, Britannia, and little fat boys for genii, may be met with—some or all of them—on almost every tomb put up during the last half century, in St. Paul's, London: Westminster, too, can show no small band of pagan deities. As far as the inscriptions beneath these heathenisms speak, it would be hard to find out whether the brave men to whom these monuments are built, were Gentiles or Jews, Infidels or Christians. The heathenish ideas of some funeral tablets are quite offensive: take, for instance, the verses in Speldhurst church, Kent:—

> Ide prayse thy valour, but Mars gins to frowne;
> He feares when Sols aloft that Mars must downe:
> Ide prayse thy forme, but Venus cryes amayne,
> Sir Water Waller will my Adon stayne:
> Ide prayse thy learning, but Minerva cryes, &c.

—Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 808.

[72] Over the grave of a youthful couple, one of them his own child, a Protestant rector sets up the following Gentile inscription, in his church:—

> Quem Dii amant, adolescens moritur.

—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 211. In the church at Waterloo, over the grave of one of those brave men who fell in that great fight, may

What a broad, sad difference from what used to be the custom here while this land continued Catholic! Then the stones upon our fellow-countrymen's graves, though various in shape, in decoration, and in the words written on them, told that beneath lay those who, however distinct in blood and language, whether Britons, Saxons, Normans, or English, were yet all of the one same hope, the one same belief, the one same Church. Whilst meekly acknowledging themselves, in sentences out of holy writ and the liturgy, to be wretched (84) sinners,[73] those men

be read, not some sweet soothing words taken out of Holy Writ, but this scrap from Cicero :—

Dulce et decorum est, pro patria mori.

How widely different was it in our old Catholic times! Then the grave-stone inscription told of the Christian belief and wishes of the dead beneath, at the same while it asked all those whose eyes might fall upon it, to pray for the soul of the person buried there, either in those words : Orate pro anima . . . cujus animæ propicietur Deus; or, in the English form : Of your charity pray for the soul of ——, on whose soul and all Christian souls may Jesus have mercy.

[73] In describing an old grave-brass, Weever says : Within the circumference of the heart this word "Credidi" : from the heart these lines :—

Redemptor meus vivit.
In novissimo die super terram stabit :
In carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem.

—*Ant. Fun. Monum.*, p. 499. On another tomb are graven these invocations from the litany :—

Pater de celis Deus miserere nobis :
Fili redemptor mundi Deus miserere nobis :
Sancta Trinitas unus Deus miserere nobis.

—*Ibid.*, 378. The following are not unfrequent :—

say to us how they look to Christ the Saviour for their forgiveness; and to hasten it, beseech the living to put up a prayer for them to Him, and not for them alone, but, in a spirit of true brotherly kindness, for all Christian souls going through the woes of purgatory.[74] Ah, (85) too, many a dear old Catholic tomb seems to have,

Qui me plasmasti miserere mei.
Qui me pretioso tuo sanguine redimisti miserere mei.
Qui me ad christianitatem vocasti miserere mei.

—*Ibid.*, 394. Often may be seen on old brasses a scroll coming out of the dead person's mouth, and having written on it these words of the fiftieth psalm:—Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. Sometimes the same sentiments are spoken in verse, thus:—

Miserere, Miserator, quia vere sum peccator,
Unde precor licet reus, miserere mei Deus,
—Flamstead, Herts. *Ibid.*, 348.

[74] Our old English grave-inscriptions were thoroughly Catholic—Catholic in the belief they uttered, Catholic in those kindly wishes which they showed towards all Christian brethren. One of the commonest forms to be met with is: "Of your charity, pray for . . . on whose soul, and all Christian souls, may Jesu have mercy" (Weever, 120, and *passim*), or—"Orate pro anima . . . cujus anime propicietur Deus."—*Ibid.* [cf. n. 72].

Often, too, the living are earnestly asked to pray for all the dead man's friends, kinsfolks, and all the faithful departed, thus: Orate pro animabus . . . Johannis, Julianæ et Aliciæ ux. ejus . . . patris et matris . . . fratrum, sororum suorum et filiorum eorum . . . et pro animabus omnium benefactorum nostrorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen (*ibid.*, 123). Sancte Deus, sancte fortis, sancte misericors salvator, miserere animabus. . . . Nec non orate pro animabus omnium defunctorum hic et ubique in Christo quiescencium.—*Ibid.*, 406.

Da requiem cunctis Deus et ubicumque sepultis.
—*Ibid.*, 530.

Prey for the saulygs of Henry Denne, and Joan his wyf, theyr fadyrs, theyr modyrs, bredyrs and good frendys, and of al christian saulygs Jesu haue mercy. Amen.—*Ibid.*, 201.

even now, hovering all about it, a little atmosphere quite its own, made up, as it were, of holy breathings from out the mild, warm, God-loving heart of him or her who lies within. What, though that heart is now cold, beatless, shrivelled up, dwindled into dust, its last sighings died not away as they came wafted from off those dying lips that gave them utterance; but still live, still are floating around, and make themselves heard in low soft (86) whisperings to our ear, as we pause and read upon the stone—"Sweet Jesus of Nazareth"—"Jesus Mary's son" have mercy—grant everlasting life to the soul[75]—thus showing how, in the truest sense, "love is strong in death."[76]

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[75] Among the ruins of Kirklees Priory, Yorkshire, was found a grave-stone marked with a cross, and bearing this inscription round it:—

DOUCE JHU DE NAZARETH FITES MERCY
A ELIZABETH DE STAYNTON JADES PRIORES
DE CEST MAISON.

—Leland, *Itin.*, ii. 97: about the foot of a cross at Braithwell, near Doncaster, may be read the invocation following:

✠ JESU LE FIZ MARIE PENSE TOI LE FILS
NOTRE ROI JE VOUS PRIE.

—Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, iii., plate 2.

WHOS SOWL SWETE JESU PARDON ends the inscription on the grave of Aleys Walleys, in Codham church, Kent (Weever, *Ant. Fun. Mon.*, 124); and SWETE JESU, GRANT TO THEM AND US EUERLASTYNG LIFE, may be read on a tomb in Stone church.—*Ibid.*, 127.

[76] The heart's own feelings, good in their kind, but found to kindle of themselves as warm a glow within the heathen as the Christian bosom, are, by the Church's belief about Purgatory, uplifted from the common level of human to the loftiness of religious love, and become holy and hallowing. Who but a

(87) Besides writing on the stones beneath which they were buried, such longing wishes to be prayed for by the living, our forefathers bethought themselves, in their strong Catholic belief, of another way, of a symbol as fitting as it was beautiful—that of

Lights set upon the Grave

—to remind all who should behold it, to say, as they went by, a prayer asking of God that the soul of him or her whose ashes lay there, might be soon brought out of darksome woe to the happiness, and everlasting brightness, of heaven. Friendless indeed, during those ages of faith, must that man have been, and small the love his kinsfolks bore him, upon whose tomb, if buried within the church, no wax-taper was kept burning for at least the first month,[77] if not throughout the whole year after his death. Examples there are, and not a few, of endowments that were made for providing a certain quantity of wax-tapers and lamps to burn, both day and

Catholic husband could have said as William Herbert, Lord Pembroke, did to his wife, in his will (dated A.D. 1469):—Wife, pray for me and take the said order (of wydowhood) that ye promised me as ye had in my lyfe, my hert and love. God have mercy on me and save you and our children, and our Lady and all the Saints in Hevyn help me to salvation.—*Test. Vet.*, i. 304.

[77] In the roll of expenses for the funeral (A.D. 1466), of John Paston, are mentioned the torches and wax made at Bromholm for to brenne upon the grave, iij marks,—for light kept on the grave, x^{s}.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vi. 485.

night throughout the year, and for ever, upon the grave of some royal and high-born individuals, in this country.[78] Other less (88) distinguished

[78] Quene Elyanore the kynges wyfe was buryed at Westmynster, in the chapell of Seynt Edwarde, at ye fete of Henry the thirde where she hathe .ii. wexe tapers brennynge vpon her tumbe both daye and nyght (Fabyan, *Chronicles*, ed. Ellis, p. 393). He (King Henry IV.) prouyded that .iiii. tapers shulde brenne daye and nyght about his (Richard II.'s) graue whyle the worlde endureth (*ibid.*, p. 577). William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, made a grant of xx*s.* yearly rent to St. Paul's Cathedral, London, for the health of the soul of his wife Alice, one part thereof to be spent upon a lamp continually burning over her tomb (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 18). The keeper of the lamps about the tomb of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in the same church, is especially mentioned by the provisions made for keeping the anniversary of that prince (*ibid.*, p. 27). The expense of keeping up the lights around Queen "Elyanore's" and King Henry V.'s tombs in Westminster Abbey, is thus noticed: Pro factura cereorum quadrantium et rotundorum imperpetuum circa tumbam dicte regine cremendorum, &c. Et pro tortis et cereis rotundis emptis stantibus circa tumbit' regis Henrici quinti, &c. (*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 423): square candles are not now in liturgical use in the western parts of the Church; an old square wax candle, ornamented with figures of saints in low relief, which was shown me not long ago by a friend, I think is of ancient Russian workmanship. These square candles seem to have been much employed at one time: Robert, Earl of Suffolk (who died A.D. 1369), says: "I will that five square tapers and four mortars, besides torches, shall burn about my corpse at my funeral" (*Test. Vet.*, i. 74). Again, Sir John Montacute directs (A.D. 1388), "Upon my burial day I will that there be five tapers, each weighing twenty pounds, placed about my hearse, and four morters, each of ten pounds weight" (*ibid.*, 124). "I will," says Thomas, Earl of Warwick (A.D. 1400), "for my funeral that there be three hundred pounds weight of wax in six tapers and seven morters—also that sixty-four men, in gowns made of white cloth, carry each of them a torch," &c. (*ibid.*, 154). Richard, Earl of Arundel (A.D. 1375) desires "That no men at arms, horses, hearse, or other pomp be used at my funeral, but only five torches with their morters" (*ibid.*, 94). Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester (A.D. 1399) directs thus: My body to be covered with a black cloth, with a white cross and an escutcheon of my arms in the middle of the said cross, with four

personages ordained that such lights should be kept up for them, on all Sundays and (89) festivals;[79] while people of small wealth be-

tapers round it, and four full mortars being at the four corners (*ibid.*, 147). A "mortar" was a wide bowl of iron or metal; it rested upon a stand or branch, and was filled either with fine oil or wax, which was kept burning by means of a broad wick. Mortars of a small size, holding a perfumed wax, are put all around the shrine or "confessional" of SS. Peter and Paul at Rome, on the festival of those apostles, the 29th of June.

Knoll, and many other lands, were given by Edward I. to Westminster, on condition that upon the eve of St. Andrew, Queen Eleanor's anniversary, there should be sung a *Placebo* and *Dirige* with nine lessons, c. wax candles weighing xii *lb.* a piece being then burning about her tomb, and every year new ones made for that purpose.—And of the waxen tapers before specified, xxx to remain all the year long about the said queen's tomb, till the renewing of them on the day of her anniversary; all which to be lighted upon the great festival days, and upon the coming of any nobleman thither, and as often else as they should see fit; and moreover, that the abbot, prior, and convent, and their successors, should find two waxen lights, each of them weighing two pounds of wax, to burn continually at the tomb of the said queen (Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, ii. 959). Henry IV. gave land to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London, for the keeping of his father's and mother's anniversaries; and "to find eight great tapers to burn about that tomb on the day of the said anniversaries, at the exequies, and Mass on the morrow, and likewise at the processions, Masses, and vespers on every great festival, and upon Sundays at the procession, Mass, and second vespers."—Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, ed. Ellis, p. 27.

[79] In not a few of our country churches may be seen a low-browed, shallow, but somewhat wide, blind arch, sunk into the wall, much oftener on the north than the south side of the chancel. Beneath, and but little raised above the pavement, lies either a grave-stone showing a floriated cross, or a cumbent effigy: almost always some distinguished benefactor to that church is buried there. Sometimes, from out the face of the arched wall, juts forth a little bracket, the use of which was to uphold a lamp; at others, the key-stone of the arch is carved in the shape of a human head, having drilled into it at top, a hole deep and big enough to bear a wax taper: this lamp, or candle, as it might be, was, no doubt, lighted and kept burning all through the Sundays

queathed enough to have this, among other rites, observed (90) for them once every year at each returning mind-day or anniversary of their death.[80]

(91) To give strong meaning and more solemnity to this liturgical usage for hindering the dead from being forgotten by the living in their prayers, the custom was to overspread the grave with a rich pall. For this purpose a wagon-headed frame, like (92) the one here shown,[81] made of wood or

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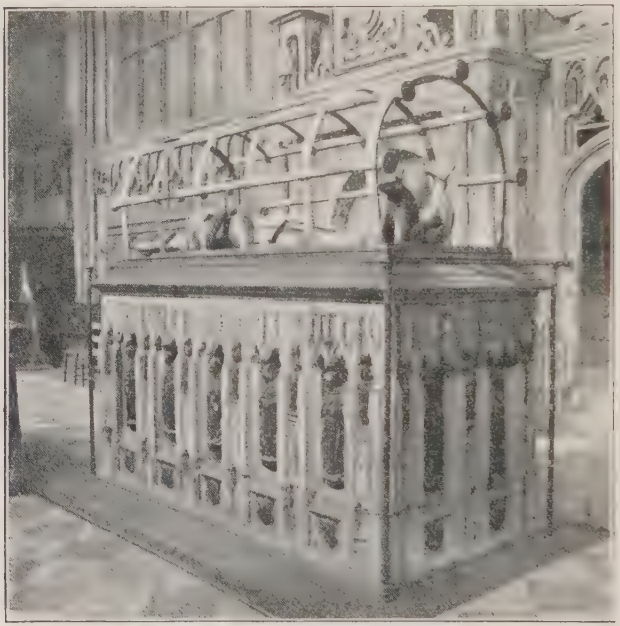
and festivals of the year, but in a more especial manner on the anniversary of that benefactor, to bid the people think of and pray for his or her soul. In his last testament, Rob. Cok (A.D. 1492) says:—Item, I will that a laumpe be founde brennyng on my grave every Sonday and fest-full in the yere at all divine service, and also that it be light dayly at vij of the belle before mydday, and brenne from vij of the belle dayly till high Mase be endid in the said church of St. Sepulchre (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iv. 139). Simon Blake appoints a lamp to burn by his grave on all holidays and Lordsdays, from matins to complin, and the bell-man of the town of Swaffham to take care of it.— *Ibid.*, vi. 203.

On the eve of his year-day or anniversary, as soon as service was done, a pall was thrown over the founder's tomb, and a wax taper lighted up at the head, and another at the foot, to burn there the remainder of that day and all through the night; on the following morning, four other wax tapers were lighted and kept burning until the high Mass had been chanted for his soul and his kindred's souls; then the four tapers were put out, and other two were placed there till after complin.—*Consuetudines ecclesiæ Norwicensis*, &c. [*Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS.*, 465].

[80] Robert Fabyan directed that his "obite" should be kept for nine years, and that yearly "there be ordeyned .ij. tapers of .ij.^{lb} every tapir, and .ij. candilstyks of the wax chaundeler, and they to be sett at my grave, and to brenne the tyme of the hole obsequy" (Fabyan, *Chron.*, ed. Ellis, p. viii.). Hugh Thurlow says :—I will that my obit be kept with solemn "dirige" and Mass, with lights upon the hearse for ten years.—*Test. Vet.*, ii. 557.

[81] Taken from the Beauchamp monument, in the old contract for the making of which, we find this item:—Also they shall make

iron, and so large as to cover the whole length of the tomb and high enough to enclose the figure, if



Beauchamp Monument

one lay there, was sometimes placed upon it;[82] and (93) over this hearse, (for thus like the larger

in like wise, and like latten, an hearse to be dressed and set upon the said stone, over the image, to bear a covering, to be ordeyned, &c. (*A Covenant*, &c., xiii. *Junii*, 32 H. VI., Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, i. 445). Dugdale himself caused a new velvet pall to be got "to lie over the hearse of Earl Richard."—*Descrip. of the Beauchamp Chapel*, by Nichols, p. 36.

[82] When the grave was slightly raised above the pavement, or merely marked by one of its large flat stones, this hearse had much effect. When, too, upon the sepulchral monument was put this dead person's figure, cut, as large as life, in stone, this frame or

erection it was called,[83]) fell the pall or hearse-cloth in ample folds, and the lights in tall candlesticks were set around.[84]

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smaller kind of hearse seemed almost requisite for giving a seemly look to the pall spread over it. From often being cut out after this shape, so as to fit such a sort of frame,

the pall itself got to be named the hearse-cloth; and of these old Catholic embroideries, the London city companies even yet possess some magnificent specimens, among which the Fishmongers' and the Saddlers' are the handsomest. Whether, however, the tomb arose much or little above the pavement, or the grave-stone was quite flat and level with the ground of the church or cloister which it helped to flag, it would seem that the funeral pall cast over a low small hearse, always mantled the sepulchral effigy, as well as the plain flag-stone, during the anniversary services for him or her who lay buried beneath; for in the Syon Martyrology, we read this regulation: Determinatum est quod . . . ornacio feretri seu pavimenti, accensio luminum, &c., cum ceteris observanciis tam in exequiis quam in missis per omnia observabuntur ut prius (fol. 5).

[83] See before ii. 399, 403, 416, of this work.

[84] Ad abbathiam monialium de Godestowe pervenit (Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus) ubi ecclesiam intrans cum ante magnum altare prolixius orasset, vidit ibi quoddam sepulcrum ante altare panno serico coopertum et cereos circumastantes cum lampadibus ardentibus, &c. (*Chron. Johan. Bromton*, ed. Twysden, i. 1235). Among the things given to Durham Cathedral at the death of Bishop Bury, there was a green pall, shot with gold, for covering that prelate's tomb: j pannum aureum viridis coloris pro tumba ejusdem.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 25. Of Vitalis, abbot of Westminster, and who was buried in the south cloister of that abbey, Sporley, a monk of that house, tells us:—Quolibet anno die anniversarii ipsius ponatur unum tapetum cum panno serico auro texto, et duo cerei pond. ii *li.* quos sacrista providebit ab hora vesperarum usque in crastinum. Finita Missa de Requiem ibidem jugiter ardebunt (Cotton MS., Claud. A. viii. fol. 39). "My body," says William Norreys (A.D. 1486), "to be buried in the chancel of our Lady, in the parish of Asshe, at the south end of the altar there. I will that my red cloth of baudkyn be laid upon my body in the said church, and so there to remain for a perpetual remembrance, and especially to be provided for therewith an hearse and a black cloth, with two tapers thereupon set, to be light and burning in

(94) In the wish to be buried in one particular spot on the chancel's northern side, and in those (95) injunctions for the architectural adornments of the grave to be fashioned so that there always might be set

THE EASTER SEPULCHRE UPON HIS TOMB,

we meet another proof of that eagerness in bygone times, to be prayed for when dead, felt by him who could have his will fulfilled in such

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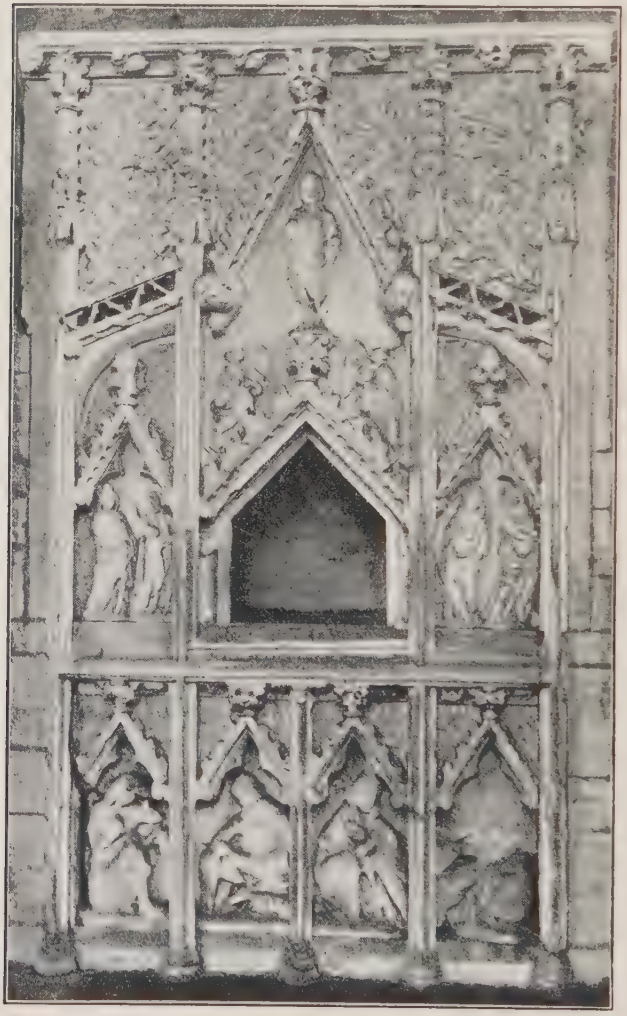
the time of saying divine service there, to be had and ordained over my tomb for a special remembrance of prayer," &c. (*Test. Vet.*, i. 385). In his will (dated A.D. 1501), John Blome gave all his lands to the keeping of his anniversary for ever, placing one herse over his sepulchre and finding two lights on it, of one pound of wax, to burn in time of exequiæ and Mass performing on the day of the commemoration of his death, four torches to burn before his sepulchre . . . in the time of divine service, and one penny offering at the Mass, &c. (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vi. 182). Among the funeral expenses of John Sayer, Knight (A.D. 1530), are the following:—For wax upon his hearse to burne ev'y messe tyme v searghs viii^{s}. For v yeards of blakk cloth to his hearse ij^{s}.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 110.

Poor Queen Catharine of Arragon was buried in the church of Peterborough, betwixt two pillars on the north side of the choir, near to the great altar; her hearse being covered with a black velvet pall, crossed with white cloth of silver: this pall was afterwards changed for one of meaner value, which had her Spanish escutcheons affixed to it; but even that was taken away in 1643 (*Mon. Angl.*, i. 364). The latter fact we learn from Gunton, who, in speaking of the Puritans, tells us of those men who "rob and rifle the tombs, and violate the monuments of the dead.—They demolish Queen Katherine's tomb, Hen. the eighth his repudiated wife: they brake down the rails that enclosed the place, and take away the black velvet pall which covered the herse; overthrow the herse itself, displace the gravestone that lay over her body," &c. *Hist. of the Church of Peterborough*, p. 335.

things. While doing this, the owner of the soil, or the lord of the manor, only sought to avail himself best of those opportunities for getting his soul remembered, afforded him by those highest and therefore rare but impressive solemnities of the ritual, which once in every year were sure to bring all the people in crowds to the parish-church, as they mingled in its heart-stirring celebrations.

During holy week our Catholic countrymen went, as Catholics still go, to church—on Maundy Thursday, to partake of, or at least to adore the Blessed Eucharist, the day that pledge of love was instituted—on Good Friday, to weep over their sins and crave forgiveness of Christ crucified for them, as they crept to and kissed on bended knees the cross, the emblem of redemption, bought for the world that day—on Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday, (96) to rejoice at the uprising of our Lord and Saviour from the grave, and to hope through Him for a joyful resurrection. This then is the season of love towards God—of love towards man—of asking from Heaven forgiveness not only for one's own but others' sins—of praying for all, the living and the dead. From the early part of Maundy Thursday till Easter morning, the Blessed Eucharist was kept in what was called the "sepulchre"; and night and day crowds thronged to watch and worship there. But the people of the parish knowing who it was that

had made their "sepulchre" to be so beautiful, and had endowed the church with the means of



EASTER SEPULCHRE AT HECKINGTON

lighting it up so splendidly,[85] were taught to pray for the soul, while they remembered that there lay hard by the remains of him who besought as a precious boon that the marble table of his monument might "bear the body of our Lord at Easter."[86] [See the picture opposite and a similar picture in vol. iv.]

(97) It was, however, as each year brought back the day on which a person died, that his soul used to be, and still is, commended unto God's mercies, in a service especially set forth by the Church for

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[85] Thomas Lord Dacre says (A.D. 1531): My body to be buried in the parish church of Hurst Monceaux, on the north side of the high altar. I will that a tomb be there made for placing the sepulchre of our Lord, with all fitting furniture thereto in honour of the most blessed sacrament; also, I will that *cl.* be employed towards the lights about the said sepulchre, in wax-tapers of ten pounds weight each, to burn about it.—*Test. Vet.*, ii. 653.

[86] Ralf Verney, knight, directs (A.D. 1478) his body to be buried in the tomb standing under the sepulture between the choir and our Lady's chapel, &c. (*Test. Vet.*, i. 350). Thomas Wyndesor, esquire (A.D. 1479), speaks thus in his will: My body to be buried in the north side of the quire . . . before the image of our Lady, where the sepulture of our Lord standeth, whereupon I will that there be made a plain tomb of marble of a competent height, to the intent that it may bear the blessed body of our Lord and the sepulture at the time of Easter to stand upon the same, &c. (*ibid.*, 352). In her will (A.D. 1499), Eleanor, wife of Judge Townsend, orders her body to be buried by the high altar, before our Blessed Lady in the chancel . . . and a new tomb to be made for her husband's and her bones, upon which tomb to be cunningly graven a sepulchre for Easter-day.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, vii. 132.

The liturgical student will not fail to observe how these extracts show that our Blessed Lady's image, which was ever to be found in our old parish churches, always stood upon its bracket on the north side of the east-end wall in the chancel: the image of the patron-saint under whose name the church had been dedicated, was on the south.

such a brotherly purpose, and called by one or other of these names,

The Year's Mind,[87] Anniversary, or Obit.

Upon its eve, the bell-man of the town (and every (98) town of yore made its own bell-man do this duty), went all about that neighbourhood, ringing his hand-bell at the head of every street and lane: in a country parish, this was done by the sexton, before the cross at the village end, upon the green, and at those quarters of the hamlet where the cottages stood closer thronged. Whilst giving out, in a slow sort of mournful chaunt, the deceased individual's name, this lowly official asked all who were listening, to say a short prayer to God, beseeching mercy on the soul of him or her whose year's mind he was then proclaiming, and for whom *Placebo* or even-song, and *Dirige* or matins and lauds for the dead, would be sung that afternoon at church, with a Mass of *Requiem* on the morrow, to be followed by a dole to the poor.[88]

[87] To the parish church of Thaxted "Rychard the younger gawe a meide callyd Abel Meide, for a perpetual mynd yerly to be kept for ther (his kinsfolks') soulys and al christen soulys."—Weever, *Ant. Fun. Monuments*, p. 385.

[88] Lego portatori campanæ orantis circa villam de Tykhull vj*d.* die exequiarum pro anima mea (*Test. Ebor.*, p. 141). Sir Adam Outlaw, priest, bequeaths a tenement to the West Lynn town bellman, on condition that on the vigil of Sir Adam's "yere day" this bellman "pray for the souls of Thomas of Acre and Muriel his wife, his (Sir Adam's) soul, and the souls of his benefactors, with his bell going about the town," &c. (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, viii. 536). Simon de Stalham leaves to the bellman at Great Yarmouth vj*d.* a year to keep our anniversary, viz. of me and

(99) All that evening, and from earliest dawn next day, the church bells tolled a knell:[89] the grave,

Christiana my wife, annually at a certain term for ever (Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, p. 818); and about the same time (A.D. 1349) William Motte says in his will: I give to the bellmen and their successors v*jd.* of an annual rent out of my capital messuage for ever, to keep my anniversary for ever, and pray for my soul, and the souls of Margaret my wife, and Margaret Child my wife, and the souls of John Motte, and my children, about the town of Great Yarmouth, as the manner and custom is, &c. (*ibid.*, p. 820). Isabel, wife of Jeffery de Fordele (A.D. 1349), left "to the two bellmen of the town, and their successors for the time being, for ever, v*jd.* of annual rent, on condition that they celebrate the anniversary of her and Thomas Sydher, and ring for our souls," &c. (*ibid.*, p. 824). In the Statutes for St. Mary Magdalen College, of his founding at Oxford, Bp. Wayneflete, while providing for the keeping of his own anniversary, says: "Every year on the day of the said burial service, four pence for his trouble shall be paid to the common bellman who is accustomed to make public proclamation, after the Oxford practice, for Master John Bowyke, and myself as benefactors" (*Statutes of Magdalen Coll., Oxford*, ed. Ward, p. 152). These bellmen were often employed in other services about the church, for in the accompts of St. Nicholas's church, Great Yarmouth, we find (A.D. 1511) money was paid to the bell-man for covering the images in Lent (Swinden, *Hist.*, p. 812); and it is to be presumed that the bells carried about by them were ecclesiastical property, since among the things belonging (A.D. 1504) to the above-named fine old church, its different sorts of bells are thus fortunately noticed—the saints' bell—the housil bell—three hand bells—and a bell to go with the Sacrament (*ibid.*); the "three hand bells" must have been for the bellmen's use to carry with them about the town as they went to ring and bid the people to pray for the dead. This same custom, as once, and maybe still in some places, followed on the opposite shores of France, is thus noticed:—

"'Twas about this time the sexton old, and in his hand a bell,
Was going all the country round chiming the funeral knell,
'Pray for the soul of him that was a gallant cavalier
. . . . . .
And to-morrow about the sunset—there in his state he lies—
We shall bear him then to the White Church for his holy obsequies.'"

—*A Summer among the Bocages, &c.*, by L. S. Costello.

(100) meanwhile, was shrouded with a funeral pall or hearse-cloth;[90] and wax tapers, more or less in number, (101) were set lighted all about it.[91] The kinsfolks and the friends of the person, always, and often the (102) civic functionaries of

In some of the wards within the city of London, a bellman went about every evening for the purpose, amongst others, of asking people to pray for the souls of the dead:—

The xiij day of January (A.D. 1557) in alderman Draper ward, called Chordwenerstrett ward, a belle-man went about with a belle at ever lane end and at the ward end, to gyff warnyng of ffyre and candyll lyght, and to help the powre, and pray for the ded.—Machyn, *Diary* (C. S.), p. 123.

[89] Having provided for a priest to pray for his soul the second Sunday in Lent, Sir Adam Outlaw, priest, also bequeaths (A.D. 1501) to the parish clerk for the time being, three acres of land, so that he do ring in pele on the vigil of the aforesaid yereday (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, viii. 536). Among other charges to be paid by the priory of Uske, one was: "Item, to pray for Doctor Adam and rynging of his mynd every yere vj^{d}." (*Valor. Eccl.*, iv. 366). The solemn knell rung on the eve of an anniversary, is spoken of in most old documents: thus Sporley tells us of Abbot Walter:—Obiit in festo Cosmæ et Damiani (A.D. 1191) sepultusque est in australi parte claustri (Westmonasteriensis) sub plano pavimento ante primum scamnum a cimbalo. . . . Quolibet anno in vigilia predictorum sanctorum, prior et conventus ejusdem loci *Placebo*, et *Dirige* cum tribus lectionibus ut in aliis anniversariis principalibus fieri solet cum campanarum pulsacione solemniter decantabunt, duobus cereis ad tumbam ipsius continuo ardentibus a vigilia predicta usque ad finem Missæ de *Requiem* crastino die quam cantabit prior vel alius custos ordinis loco ipsius.—*MS. Cotton, Claudius A.* viii. ff. 44, b. 45.

[90] The covering of the grave on the anniversary day with a pall or hearse-cloth, is mentioned on pp. 75, 76, note 82 and note 84.

[91] The great number of hearse-lights at an anniversary, and the expenses of making and putting them up, are shown in many old documents:—Magistro Willielmo Le Chaundeler, pro CC.XLV. lib. ceræ, emptis ad anniversarium Reginæ (Eleanore) vj*li.* viij*s.* vj*d.*;

Item, eidem Magistro W., pro meeremio ad pegones cereorum, carpentariis et portitoribus cereorum . . . arkon' et filo ad cereos ligandos lviij*s.* iiij*d.*,

the borough,[92] went to both these religious services; and all of them made their offering of money at the Mass, for the good of the departed soul whose anniversary they had come to celebrate. After the Holy Sacrifice was over, a dole of money or of food, oftentimes of both, was distributed among the poor;[93] and to a banquet (103) which usually

Item, pro factura istius ceræ, circa aniversarium Reginæ, pro eodem, c.xij*s.* vj*d.*

Item, Magistro Roberto de Colebroke, pro meremio ad hercias Dominæ Reginæ apud Westmonasterium et apud fratres Prædicatores, et pro aliis necessariis circa dictas hercias, die aniversarii Reginæ, lxxv*s.* ij*d.* (*Manners and Household Expenses of England, &c.*, 101, printed for the Roxburghe Club). The blaze of wax tapers around the tomb of Gundred, Countess of Norfolk, in Bungay church, must have, on her anniversary, been very great, since the cost of those lights came to x^{s}. iiij^{d}., no mean sum in her times: In cera ardente circa tumbam dictæ Gundredæ annuatim per fundacionem prædictæ, x^{s}. iiij^{d}.—*Valor. Eccles.*, iii. 430.

[92] The mayer of Faversham with ij of his brethern for the time beyng hath and shall receyve yerely for ever before the mas of the said obit xxiij^{d}, that is to say the same mayer shall receive . . . xiiij^{d} and shall offer at the same masse j^{d} and either of the said mayers brethern shall receyve v^{d} and either of theym shall offer in lyke manner j^{d}. (*Valor. Ecc.*, i. 84). John of Gaunt directed a certain sum of money to be given to the Lord mayor and Sheriffs of London each time they came to his anniversary, in St. Paul's.—Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 27.

[93] Edward I., in bestowing certain lands, for the good of his queen Eleanor's soul, on Westminster Abbey, required among other things, that on the queen's anniversary, the prior and convent should distribute unto every poor body repairing to that monastery, one penny sterling, or money to that value; staying till three of the clock, expecting their coming, before they should begin the dole, which was to be unto seven score poor people (Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, ii. 959). Not only our kings and queens, but all our countrymen, no matter of how lowly a degree, left, when they could afford it, moneys to be given yearly, for ever, to the poor on each anniversary of their death. Not a chantry was ever founded in Catholic England, but there may be found, among its several provisions, one somewhat like the following: In denariis annuatim

consisted of the nicest dishes then known, and never lacked of plentifulness, not only the friends of the deceased, but all strangers who had chosen to come and attend these obsequies, were bidden ;[94] and if, in some instances, we be struck with the splendid hospitality provided for these guests, we are still more approvingly (104) surprised at those abundant alms bestowed upon those crowds of the indigent who flocked from all sides to these anniversaries.[95]

So strong in the hearts of our Catholic countrymen was the wish to have the Holy Sacrifice offered up for their souls after death, and not merely once during each year, but every day, that so many of them as could, founded what was called

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distributis pauperibus in anniversario Thome More fundatoris ejusdem cantarie ad orandum pro anima dicti Thome et parentum suorum.—*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 63.

[94] Walter, Abbot of Westminster (dying A.D. 1194), bequeathed the manor of Paddington to that church for the keeping of his anniversary. The ordinary guests, who dined that day in the refectory, had two dishes of meat, with bread, wine, and ale; but for persons of distinction, the same provision was made as for the monks, who on that obit were feasted with more abundance than usual. To all comers whosoever, from the hour that the table concerning the anniversary was read out in the chapter-house, until complin the day following, were given meat and drink, as well as hay, oats, and everything they should want; so that every one, whether he came on horse-back or on foot, might find free admittance. Of three hundred poor men, each one had a loaf of bread of the convent weight, together with a pottle of ale. Besides all this, mead was given to all the monks "ad potum charitatis."—Sporley, in *MS. Cotton, Claudius A.* viii. f. 44.

[95] See last two notes, 93, 94, as well as the following, 97.

A Chantry.[96]

This was a pious endowment, most often in land, sometimes in money, enough for the support of one priest at the least, but more frequently of several, and to meet all those little expenses of daily Mass, as well as to buy new vestments and altar furniture when wanted, to keep in becoming repair the small chapel within which this service was celebrated, to bestow a weekly dole upon the poor,[97] and to solemnise the founder's anniversary.[98]

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[96] As not only among the Anglo-Saxons (vol. i. p. 121, note 27), but till the latest times, "singing" was the usual word to signify the saying of Mass (see note 99, p. 86 here), and the host to be consecrated at the Holy Sacrifice came to be called "singing bread" (see note 32, vol. i. p. 124); the endowment for a Mass was termed a "chantry."

[97] A weekly dole to the poor was usually provided for by most founders of chantries, amongst their other regulations. From the "certificat of Sir Xpofer Clarke chauntre prest" of Hedcron, Kent, we learn there was "distributed yerly by the foundacion of the same chantre"—

First weekly every weeke vij^{d}. to vij poure people of the parishe of Hedcron—xxx^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Item, an obit for my founder yerly xx^{s}.

Item, to the lights of the crucifyx and sepulchre of our Lord God yerly iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.—*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 63.

[98] The usual items of an anniversary may be here seen:—In die anniversarii Johannis Lone et Margarete uxoris ejus, pro animabus eorum parentum et benefactorum, &c. x^{s}.

Vicario ecclesie Sci. Egidii eodem die ij^{s}.

Tribus presbiteris, eodem die celebrantibus missam xij^{d}.

Duobus clericis ecclesie predicte et sex pueris ibidem ministrantibus xviij^{d}.

xij^{cem} pauperibus torchias ferentibus xij^{d}.

Et in panibus distributis et distribuendis pauperibus eodem die xx^{s}. —*Valor. Eccl.*, iv. 315. Sir W. Denham left by will to the Iron-

(105) Chantries were of two kinds: one when the endowment was to last for a limited period, for two, four, ten, or twenty years after the founder's death, (106) during which time Mass was to be offered up, and certain specified prayers said every day by the priest who undertook this duty;[99] the other, when (107) the

mongers' Company in the city of London, thirteen messuages, on condition that the Company should for ever have a dirge sung by note, within the chapel of our Lady of Barking, for the soul of the founder, his wife, his parents, his children, and benefactors. To this Mass the master and wardens were to bring their best cloth for the hearse, and distribute x*l.* sterling. To the vicar, 1*s.* 4*d.*; to seven priests, 4*s.* 8*d.*; three clerks, 2*s.*; for wax, 2*s.*; for the bells, 4*s.* 8*d.*; for bread and cheese, 1*s.* 4*d.*; for ale, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to 100 poor persons, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; to 45 poor, 30*s.*; and to 25 poor, 41*s.* 8*d.*—Herbert, *Livery Companies*, ii. 605.

[99] Also I (John Sherwode) will that syr Leonarde Hall shall synge for my sowll one holl yere.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 111. I (Jhon Trollop) bequeth to Sir Thos. Cornay iij*l.* to synge for me for two yeres if the same Sir Thos. so long lefe. And if he die afore the said two yeres so ended, then I wylle that myne executors cause another preest to synge oute the same two yeres s'vyce for my soule (*ibid.*, 105). Also I (John Hedworth) wyll that on (one) prest singe messe iij yers for the well of my sowll and all Christen sowlls and to haue messe and diridge songe at chester for well of my sowll yeirlie for euer more, &c. (*ibid.*, 112). Item do et lego (Thomas de Walkyngton rector ecc. de Houghton) capellanis meis (tres erant) ad celebrandum pro anima mea et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum per tres annos proxime post obitum meum sequentes, xlviij*l.* . . . ita quod transeant scolis Oxoniæ sive Cantabrigiæ utrum voluerint (*ibid.*, 50). Item cuidam capellano idoneo celebranti pro anima mea per sex annos in ecclesia de Seggefeld xx libras (*ibid.*, 20). Volo eciam quod duo honesti et idonei capellani per xij annos ibidem pro anima mea et Johannæ uxoris meæ, ac omnium parentum et benefactorum nostrorum, et pro animabus quibus teneor, celebraturi inveniantur, horas canonicas cum placebo et dirige singulis diebus a canone licitis præmissa dicturi, &c. (*ibid.*, 47). Item volo quod ordinetur ut unus capellanus celebret in ecclesia Ebor. ad altare Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ pro anima Thomæ fratris mei et animabus parentum

foundation and the religious services which it sought to get, were meant by the testator to abide for ever, and therefore called a perpetual chantry.[1]

meorum et omnium eorum quibus tenentur, et anima mea, per xx annos proxime sequentes mortem meam, &c. (*ibid.*, 52). Ego Richardus Feryby . . . volo quod tota pecunia pro predictis duabus bovatis terræ sic venditis solvatur capellanis secularibus, aut uni capellano seculari, ad celebranda divina officia pro anima mea, quamdiu dicta pecunia extendere valeat.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 120.

Sometimes these temporary chantries were served by as many as ten priests all the time; William Lord Roos says:—Lego cccc[l]. ad stipendium decem honestorum capellanorum pro anima mea, animabus patris et matris, fratrum, sororum, amicorum, et benefactorum meorum, et specialiter pro anima Thomæ fratris mei, per octo annos in capella infra castrum de Belvero celebraturorum; ita quod singulis diebus Missam cum nota, ad disposicionem unius eorum qui ut decanus inter eos habebitur, celebrent, &c.—*Ibid.*, 359.

[1] William de la Zouche, archbishop of York, in making provision for a perpetual chantry (A.D. 1349), says:—Do et lego pro una perpetua cantaria duorum capellanorum . . . pro anima mea sub certis modo et forma imperpetuum celebraturorum in honore Dei, &c. ccc. marc. sterling (*Test. Ebor.*, 55). Marmaduke Constable leaves (A.D. 1376), unum vestimentum de viridi vellewet cantariæ . . . in ecclesia de Flaynburgh. Item capellano occupanti dictam cantariam meam perpetuam xl[s]. (*ibid.*, 98). Lord Latimer wills thus (A.D. 1381):—Nous volloms que . . . deux chapelyns covenables soient perpetuelement estables celebrer especialment pour l'alme nostre seigneur le roi Edward que Dieu assoile, et pour nostre alme, en la esglise de Appelton entre quartre chapeleyns, &c. (*ibid.*, 116). Ego Johannes de Clyfford (A.D. 1393) volo quod missale meum notatum et portiforium . . . cum duobus vestimentis et calice meo meliori et melior cista mea quæ est in thesaurario Ebor. pro hujusmodi ornamentis asservandis, perpetue remaneant cantariæ de Bramham, et ligetur cum duabus cathenis ad murum boriale capellæ ubi dicta cantaria debet ordinari (*ibid.*, 171). In his highly curious will, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, makes provision for a perpetual chantry, thus:—Je ordenne et devise que de mes biens et chateulx, mes executeurs facent ordenner et establir en l'avant dit esglise de Seint Poul un chanterie de deux chapellains a celebrer devine service en ycell a toutz jours pour m'alme et l'alme de ma dite nadgairs compaigne Blanche.—*Ibid.*, 227.

These chantries had each its own sacred ornaments and

(108) The first care of those who wished to establish one of the latter, was to get leave and have in that (109) church at which they meant to be buried, their foundation attached to some altar,[2] or to obtain the (110) use of any small

appliances furnished to them by their founders:—At the altar in the chapel of St. Laurence, the two perpetual chaplains of canon Roger de Waltham celebrate mass for the souls of the forefathers and friends of the said Roger, and for the health of this Roger whilst he shall live, and for his soul and the souls of the above-mentioned after death,—with which chaplains in the said chapel, there are the following ornaments which were blessed by the said Sir Roger, and assigned for ever to the said chantry; namely, two pair of complete vestments, one for daily use, consisting of a chasuble of gold cloth upon canvas, with a cloth of a similar kind to hang in front of the altar, with linen sown to it. Towels to cover the altar, and for the vestments to be folded up in, with alb, amice, stole, maniple, &c., with a thread girdle and two altar-towels, one of which has a frontal of plain gold bordering. The other principal vestment has a chasuble of gold cloth upon silk, one missal, price xx^{s}. A chalice and paten, the greater part gilt, weighing xx^{s}. and worth xxx^{s}. A brasier (chausepoyn ?), value iii^{s}. Two blessed corporals in a case. Two new hand-towels. A box for altar beads. Two new pewter cruets, and a small suspended bell. A good key to the chapel-door. For all which the aforesaid chaplains and their successors are for ever to answer, according to the oath which they take on their admission to the chantry (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 335). The bell hanging in this chantry-chapel served, as it does frequently at altars in the churches of Italy at the present time, to tell the people in the further parts of the church when the Mass was about to begin, and to give warning of those more solemn parts of the holy Sacrifice, especially the consecration or sackering. If "brasier" be indicated by the word "chausepoyn," it will be evident that in those beautiful chantries they kept a small charcoal fire burning, during winter time, at the celebration of the Mass early in the morning, and at the recital of other prayers later in the day, for the soul of the founder. The chantry was kept locked, and the key was in the custody of the chantry priest, who was rendered responsible by the oath which he took on being presented to the benefice, of guarding with care the vestments and appurtenances of his chapel.

chapel so placed that the grave might be hard by. The cross-aisles of many of our old churches lent themselves admirably to such an object; but when this was not so, the founder had to build his own chantry-chapel, which in general he made abutting on the southern side of the sacred edifice. In our cathedrals and larger collegiate churches, where there was room enough, these chapels arose more commonly between the pillars of the nave and aisles, like so many distinct erections, guarding from the sullying fingers of the thoughtless and mischievous the effigy of the founder, stretched out on its high tomb, and the little altar (111) at the eastern end all illuminated, with minute care, in gold and brilliant colours, at

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[2] Lego—says H. Snayth, clerk—altari S. Jacobi in ecclesia de Snayth ad quod altare perpetua cantaria mea fundata existit, duo paria vestimentorum (*Test. Ebor.*, p. 111); John Fayrfax, rector of Prescote (A.D. 1393)—Lego cuidam altari in corpore dictæ ecclesiæ, ex parte boreali, in honore Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ facto, ubi propono ordinare cantariam perpetuam, unum missale usus Ebor., unum vestimentum, &c. (*ibid.*, 187); and John de la Pole, clerk (A.D. 1414)—Do et lego residuum omnium bonorum meorum . . . cantariæ seu collegio de Wyngfeld ad amortizandum certas terras pro sustentacione unius capellani ad altare Sanctæ Trinitatis in ecclesia predicta, pro anima mea, necnon parentum meorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum (*ibid.*, 373). Roger de la Leye founded a chantry, for one priest to celebrate divine service for his soul at the altar before which he should be buried (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 19). Raphe de Baldok settled lands on the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, for the maintenance of two priests perpetually celebrating for his soul at the altar of St. Erkenwald, and for all the faithful deceased, giving a munificent legacy to all the officers of the church for the solemnising his yearly obit on the eve of St. James the Apostle, with an ample allowance thereat for the poor.—*Ibid.*, p. 20.

the same time that its open tracery allowed those who knelt outside to behold the beauties, and to hear the divine service celebrated within its elaborately ornamented inclosure.[3] Sometimes a narrow stair, winding inside a turret, at one of the corners of its western end, leads up to a tiny chapel, raised one story above the floor of the tomb, and where, instead of being below, the altar stood, against the eastern wall, with its little sculptured reredos and over-arching canopy. Not a few of these exquisitely ornamented monumental chantry-chapels are still left us. Their slight open screen-work looks but a frame for the deeply undercut thin foliage roving everywhere about it; and the crispy crocketing that creeps up those tall airy pinnacles, and those leaf-like bunchy finials that crown them, seem all too soft and light to be of stone. When they had their rich gilding and their many-tinted colouring (112) bright and fresh upon them, and they twinkled with the waxen tapers that were often kept there burning night and day,[4] these chantries must

[3] Roger de Waltham founded an oratory on the south side of the quire in St. Paul's, London, to the honour of God, our Lady, St. Laurence, and all Saints; and adorned it with images of our blessed Saviour, St. John the Baptist, &c.; so likewise with the pictures of the celestial hierarchy, the joys of the blessed Virgin, and others, both in the roof about the altar, and other places within and without. In this oratory, the chantry which he had endowed was placed, and his anniversary was kept. — Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 21.

[4] How any of these erections could have been mistaken for a saint's shrine, is hard to imagine; and yet such has happened in

have looked most beauteous indeed, and fittingly expressive of that gladsomeness and everlasting light in God's church above—in heaven—wished, through Christ's throes upon the rood, to the souls of those whose ashes lay buried there. The sounds of prayer that were daily heard from within, beseeching God on behalf of the founder, his kindred, and (113) all the truly believing dead, came like whisperings from out the grave, telling how the soul can never die, and how man must overcome sin and the devil in this life, if he wish to flee from hell and win heaven and God's happiness hereafter.

If he who had this world's wealth, thought first for himself, as he lawfully might, and then of his kindred, when he founded a perpetual chantry, he did not forget the poor and friendless among

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the instance of a late (though valuable) existing example in Christ Church, Oxford. On the north side of the northern aisle to the choir of that cathedral, there stands what is commonly (though most erroneously) called St. Frideswide's shrine, which, however, is nothing more than one of these chantries with its chapel raised a story above its high tomb, the brasses inlaid upon which, but long since wrenched away, once showed the knight and his lady who lay interred there. Of them or their name, nothing is now known; but a family burial-place and chantry it undoubtedly was, and no sort of shrine whatever, and had its altar in a little oratory above, which is even now reached by a short, narrow, well-worn flight of stairs. The shrine of a patron saint always stood near the high altar of the church; and nobody, even king or queen, was ever allowed to be buried within it. As great a mistake is the supposition that the upper part of this Oxford chantry-chapel was the sleeping-room of the warden of St. Frideswide's shrine, which was not only far away, but could not have been seen from out of it.

Christ's people, but had them also remembered, as he bade, that together with himself and his, all the faithful departed should be prayed for. This was every wise meetly done: however soon he hoped his own and his friends' souls might be washed from every sullying speck by the blood of his only Saviour Jesus,[5] poured out upon them in (114) purgatory at the beseeching of godly men upon earth; he wished, with sound Catholic feelings of communion, that the work of ghostly help which he had provided for himself, should, even after by God's kindness he had ceased to want it, still be carried on, for the need of others, everlastingly.[6] Not unoften was

[5] Octo choristis ecclesie Lichfeldensis pro eodem obitu misse Jhesu et antiphona Jhesu cantantibus pro anima Magistri Thome Heywod, &c. (*Valor. Eccl.*, iii. 137.) Pro missa nominis Jhesu quotidie in ecclesia Southwell celebranda pro anima Willmi Bothe, quondam Ebor. archiepiscopi, &c. (*ibid.*, v. 195). For "Jesus Mass" as it was called, our forefathers had a warm devotion, and through it besought God for health to the living and forgiveness towards the dead. It is, I presume, the *Missa de quinque vulneribus D.N.J.C.* found at the end of the Salisbury missal among the votive Masses, and one of the three set down for Friday. In some of our churches, it would seem this Mass was said every day during the week, and he who did this duty, used to be named "the Jesus-mass priest," an appellation not unoften to be met with among our old documents. By Salisbury use, the feast of the Name of Jesus was kept on the 7th of August, in the mass of which there is a long sequence in honour of that sacred name: so there is in the Mass of the five wounds.

[6] In all endowments for chantries, whether of a limited or perpetual duration, it is invariably noticed that not merely the founder's soul, but the souls of all the faithful departed, shall be prayed for: the same truly Catholic and brotherly feeling is made to show itself in each inscription on a grave, and in every liturgical formula of the Church.

The Chantry-Priest an Ankret[7]

whose footsteps never went beyond the threshold of that building within which he had vowed to live and die: there he dwelt, either in a room above the vestry, or in some little cell communicating with and near to the chantry-chapel itself.[8] Thus, (115) whilst he watched over the safety of the church night and day,[9] and fulfilled

[7] Lego capellæ cantariæ de Kexby vestimentum meum rubeum. . . . Item lego eidem capellæ magnum missale et magnum portiforium quæ emi de domino Thoma Coke presbitero ac anachorita in eadem capella, &c. (*Test. Ebor.*, p. 244.) An ankret lived in St. Cuthberht's church, Thetford, and performed divine service therein.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ii. 75.

[8] For becoming an ankret, or, as Richard Fraunces is called, "inter quatuor parietes pro Christo inclusus" (Peter Langtoft, *Chron.*, ed. Hearne, ii. 625 in glossary), the bishop's written leave was requisite, and one such licence is preserved by Hearne (*Annales J. de Trokelow*, p. 264, in addenda). Often his days were spent in studious occupations besides prayer; "Rycharde Rolle hermyte of Hampull" (who died A.D. 1349), "Symon anker of London Wall," and several others, became celebrated for their devotional writings, and some of them copied out and illuminated church service books.

About many of our parish churches, there are indications in rooms over the porch and vestry, or well-marked traces of buildings that once were, which show how those places must have, at one time, been used as dwellings. Not always, however, did the ankret live beneath the church's roof; his ankrage or house, in which he was solemnly shut up, often stood quite apart by itself, either at the further end of the churchyard, on a bridge, by the wayside, or in a lonely wood, and always had its little chapel.

[9] These little chantry chapels were sometimes chosen as the safest place for keeping things of value: Omnia ista divisa—says Sir Thomas Ughtred—volo quod includantur optima cista mea et ponantur in custodia duorum presbiterorum meorum in capella cantariæ de Kexby quousque dictus Thomas Ughtred et Margareta pervenerint ad plenitudinem etatis.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 244.

his founder's wishes, and at early morn offered up the holy sacrifice, and at noon and even-tide said the canonical hours of his portoos or breviary at the dead man's grave, this recluse was ever ready to guide, by his (116) instructions and warnings, those among the living who chose to come, and, amid the stillness and loneliness of the churchyard, speak of their trials, their sorrows, and their weaknesses to him, through his grated window, which was usually built low down in the wall at the south-western corner of the chancel.[10]

[10] That some one usually slept in almost every church, is told us by many passages in ecclesiastical documents. The Durham sacristan who left a lighted taper among the vestments, and at the head of whose bed there was a shelf, upon which—omnium cortinarum, dorsalium, ac cæterorum ornamentorum ecclesiæ tota collecta superposita conquievit (Reginaldus Dunelm., *De adm. S. Cuthberti, &c.*, 80), must have slept in a room over the vestry and looking on the inside of that cathedral, as the same writer tells us:—Clericus ecclesiæ prædictæ diaconus, cum collegis suis ad aquilonalem ecclesiæ plagam dormiturus sompno indulserat, &c. (*ibid.*, 117). That at one period there was an ankret living in Durham Cathedral is certain, for "at the east end of the north alley of the quire . . . was the grandest porch, called the anchorage, having in it a very elegant rood . . . with an altar for a monk to say daily Mass, being in ancient times inhabited by an anchorite," &c.—*Antiquities of Durham*, p. 21. Besides written, we have architectural, evidence, that even in not a few of our smallest parish churches, the custom was, at one time or another, for a person to sleep, since we often find that all doors, whether for the people into the nave, or for the clergy into the chancel, of the sacred building, could no otherwise be securely fastened than by a strong thick spar of wood, which had to be drawn out of a long narrow hole made for that purpose in the wall, and into which it could be slid back again only by some one inside the church: he therefore who so shut up the door or unloosened it, must of necessity have stayed all night within the edifice. This "staking" of the church-door, as it was called, is sometimes spoken of by our native writers. Bromton tells of

(117) The same pious individual who, whilst thinking of the hereafter, endowed a chantry, to

the "hostium ecclesiæ inmani obice clausum" (ed. Twysden, i. 941). Of these men who slept in the churches both of this and other countries, the greater number were of that kind of religious order called *Inclusi*, or ankrets: speaking of an inroad made by the first Norman William into France, Ralph Coggeshale tells us how that king:—Oppidum quod Mantua dicitur cum ecclesiis combussit, ubi

THE ENCLOSING OF AN ANKRET

et duo reclusi combusti sunt (*Chron. Anglic.*, ed. Martene, *Vet. Script. ampl. Collect.*, v. 803) [*R.S.*, lxvi., 2]. The ritual service for blessing and shutting up ankrets and ankresses is given both in the Manual and Pontifical after Salisbury Use. The ankress, or female recluse, had her cell, or small house, generally in the churchyard; and was allowed to have a woman servant to live along with and wait upon her.

The men "inclusi," or ankrets, were very often in priest's orders, and therefore said Mass. Knighton mentions a priest-

have every (118) day throughout all ages the prayers of the Church for his own, his friends',

ankret who was shut up in one of the churches of Leicester: Erat quoque illis diebus apud Leycestriam quidam sacerdos Willelmus de Swyndurby quem Willelmum heremitam vulgus vocabant, eo quod heremiticam vitam aliquamdiu ibidem colebat . . . in quadam camera infra ecclesiam ipsum receperunt propter sanctitatem quam sperabant in eo, et ei ex more aliorum sacerdotum procuraverunt victum cum pensione.—Henry Knighton, *Chron.* [*R.S.*, xcii. ii. 189, 190].

Among those several uses for the low side window, with its bars and shutter, to be found in so many of our old parish churches, generally at the south-western end of the chancel, one assuredly was, that the recluse or ankret dwelling therein might speak and be spoken with through its iron gratings, after public service-time, and when the doors of the church were shut. Roger of Wendover's short sketch of St. Wilfric's life throws no small light upon this subject. Of this holy man, who was a priest as well as ankret, the monk of St. Alban's tells us:—Beatus vir Wlfricus ex mediocri Anglorum gente oriundus, in Contona, villa a Bristollo octo milliaribus distante, natus, nutritus est et conversatus; ibi etiam per annos aliquot sacerdotis officium exercuit . . . ad aliam directus est villam, nomine Haselbergam . . . ubi, in cellula ecclesiæ contigua Christo se consepeliens, multo labore multaque carnis ac spiritus afflictione Christi sibi gratiam comparavit. . . . Humilis erat cunctis in eloquio et jucundus, cujus sermones cælestem quandam harmoniam audientibus redolebant, licet hominibus semper clausa fenestra loqueretur (*Flores Hist.*, ii. 274, &c., ed. Coxe) [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. i. 4–6]. A distinguishing part of ankret rule seems ever to have been the use, for all communication with layfolks, of a barred small window. Thomas Becon, one of that unholy set who warred against God's Church in this land during the xvi century, and whose bad cause led him, as always happens, into scoffing for lack of argument, says:—For who knoweth not that our recluses have grates of yron in their spelunckes and dennes, out of the which they looke, as owles out of an yvye todde, when they will vouchsafe to speake with any man, at whose hand they hope for advantage? So read we in *Vitis Patrum* that John the heremite so enclosed himself in his heremitage, that no man came unto him. To them that came to visit him, he spake thorow a window onely. Our anckers and anckresses professe nothinge but a solitary life, led in contemplation all the dayes of their life in their hallowed house, wherein they are

and all true believers' (119) souls departed, sometimes was no less careful to make a like boon for

enclosed. . . . At midnighte they are bound to saye certaine prayers . . . they maye by no meanes bee suffered to come oute of their houses excepte it bee to take a streighter and an harder life uppon them, which is to bee a bishop (*The Reliques of Rome*, by Thomas Becon, 1563. ¶ *Imprinted at London*, by J. Day, &c., fol. 53). Becon's sorry flout becomes so far useful as it helps us to understand one of our old English canons, a synodal statute sent forth (A.D. 1246) by Richard de la Wich, bishop of Chichester, commanding these well-secured small windows for ankrets' use: Inclusis etiam præcipimus, ne quam personam in domibus suis recipiant vel habeant de qua sinistra suspicio oriatur. Fenestras quoque arctas habeant et honestas: eisdem etiam cum his tantummodo personis secretum tractatum habere permittimus, quarum gravitas et honestas suspicionem non admittit (Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 693). By looking narrowly at these low side windows, we shall see that, if not now, once at least every one of them had its iron grating let into it. For the protection of the parish church and its treasures, it was good to have some one dwelling therein by night as well as by day: for the order of divine service, it was even more convenient when that individual happened to be a priest who could act as sacristan. But where did the ankret dress his food, eat it, and sleep? Not, surely, in the very church itself. Being almost needless to the wants of Protestant worship, our old parish-church vestries, which always stood on the northern side of the chancel, have, in very many instances, been pulled down within the last three hundred years: several, however, yet stand, and of these a few have a room over them with a fire-place, a closet, and all other requirements, as far as building went, for a man like an ankret, whose profession forbade him to stir beyond his dwelling's walls; here, then, was it that he lived. People were fond of asking the ghostly advice of the ankret. For this purpose something like a window, and that, too, somewhat low down in the wall, became a necessity. Had this window been in the sacristy walls, or anywhere about the north of the church, it would have stood on the lonely unfrequented side, and therefore, in most cases, beyond the public eye: hence, those fond of evil speaking might have whispered that it was the haunt of loose idle people. To hinder, then, the shadow of a suspicion from falling on him, the ankret's window was made to be on the south, or well-frequented, part of the churchyard, unhidden in any way by the buildings, and standing in sight of the whole parish, so

the beseeching of Heaven to (120) give health of body, but, in an especial manner, ghostly strength

OTHERY CHURCH

that all who went thither must have been seen. Though small low side-windows be at times met with at the north-west end of a chancel, none of these have, that I am aware of, been ever as yet found having iron gratings, or the wooden shutter: should any such become known, it will be, I think, in some church where the houses of the town lie to its north, and where, in consequence, a

all through life to his aftercomers: (121) this work of brotherly kindness he sought to do by a

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northern instead of a southern porch is the common, perhaps the only, entrance for the people. A very striking characteristic in all of these windows is, that when the lower glazing, or the wooden shutter—whichever happened to keep the weather out at the bottom part—was thrown open, the person within could be easily seen and heard by not merely one, but a little crowd of listeners, as they stood near, in the churchyard. For this purpose, doubtless, must have been cut the hole which we behold was driven through the buttress itself, because it came far out before such a window, at Othery church, near Bridgewater, Somersetshire: at Elsfield, Oxon, a seat and small stone reading-desk are contrived, inside, on the window-sill (both examples are figured in the *Archæological Journal*, iv. 316, 322), so that the ankret might give his instructions and exhortations sitting, and have lying open before him his codex of Holy Writ, out of which he quoted, as he preached to those who flocked about his opened window to hear his words of admonition. Those ambries within, and that curious triple arch, outside the south transept of St. Cross's (figured in the *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at Winchester*), are, to my thinking, the remains of an ankret's lodgings there, and show traces of a low side window. When these ankrets were in priest's orders, they usually had permission from the bishop to hear confessions: before going to meet Wat Tyler in Smithfield, Richard II. went to Westminster Abbey, "then to the church, and so to the high altar, where hee deuoutly prayed and offered. After which he spake with the Anchore, to whom hee confessed himselfe" (Stow, *Chron.*, p. 459). Once made, however, it was found that instead of merely one, this window might be so fitted as to answer several very useful ritual purposes. During the Middle Ages, those tainted with leprosy were looked upon with dread, and thrown from society as outcasts:—Leprosi cum expelluntur a communi cohabitatione: multo fortius ab ordinibus (Johannes de Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi*, fol. xcvii. b.): this J. de Burgh was an Englishman, and wrote *c.* A.D. 1385. Gervase, the Canterbury monk, in reciting the canons of the Lateran Council (A.D. 1179), tells of the lazars' hardships thus: Quidam quæ sua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærentes, leprosis qui sanis cohabitare non possunt vel ad ecclesiam cum aliis convenire, ecclesias vel cimiteria non permittunt habere, &c. (*Chron.*, ed. Twysden, ii. 1450) [*R.S.*, lxxiii. i. 283]. Through the low side-window, then, the leper, who was forbidden to go within the church's walls, might strive to hear as best he could his Mass on Sundays and

twin foundation, meant, as its sister establishment, (122) to last unto the end of the world, for that especial purpose.[11]

Holy-days, although unable, on account of the half-closed shutter, to behold the ceremony. In the chancel of Bibury church, Gloucester, there is a narrow low window, called to this day "the lepers' window" (*Notes and Queries*, ii. 111). Martene instances a window through which the Holy Communion used to be given to a leprous nun: Devenuë lepreuse, elle (sainte Aleide) fut separée selon la coûtume, et on voit encore la fenêtre par laquelle elle venoit recevoir la communion (*Voy. Litt. de Deux Benedic.*, i. pt. 2, p. 205). Through this same window, too, the parish priest might hear the leper's confession, and give him the Holy Eucharist; one of the old paintings lately uncovered in Eton College chapel, showing a bishop administering the Blessed Sacrament through a low window to some one on the other side, seems to warrant this; through this same window, too, might the notorious sinner be obliged to hear Mass, as one part of his penance, all Lent, from the time he was publicly driven out of the church, on Ash Wednesday, until he was again publicly restored, on Maundy Thursday, the ceremonies for which may be seen in the Salisbury, the Roman, and other rituals. Some examples there are of these windows running down very near the ground; for this the reason was, in all likelihood, to save the trouble of lifting up what was heavy, and so make it easier to pass through their iron gratings the food and fuel needed by the ankret, as well as to let him with more convenience give poor people the victuals which, on his side, he daily bestowed upon all who sought his window for that object, as well as sometimes to dispense the doles bequeathed to be distributed on funerals and anniversaries.

Belonging as they did by right to the parson (persona, see vol. ii. 49, n. 91) of the church, the keys of all its doors were naturally kept by him and his officials. To have allowed the ankret who had chosen that spot as the place of his inclosure, to use the little door leading into its chancel, or the greater one under its southern porch, or any other door of that holy pile, for his communications with those who came either to speak to or bring him food, would not only have seemed a wide breach in his especial rule of life, but might have laid him under those very suspicions, the slightest taint of which the canons of our synods strove so warily to hinder from reaching the character of his profession. That the public eye might be a watch upon his commerce with the world, the ankret's window was made at the south side of the sacred build-

(123) The duties to be fulfilled by him who held the benefice of a chantry, were not everywhere the (124) same, but varied, more or less, according to

ing, wherever the people came into church from that quarter of town: and though the little low-browed chancel-door stood already there close in its neighbourhood, he never used this door,

Cell of an Ankret at Walpole St. Andrew

lest it might be said that he went out himself or allowed folks to come in thither unto him during the hours of darkness. This low side-window, then, was built; and its opening, though so narrow, was barred up with iron gratings, quite after ankern rule: surely, therefore, are we well warranted in calling it "the ankret's window."

the ordinances set down in his will by the originator. Such obligations, however, usually consisted in saying Mass[12] and the canonical hours, every day, (125) besides the whole service of the dead, once each week, throughout the year, within the chantry-chapel itself, for the founder's soul: besides this, the priest had to be in the choir of the church wherein his chantry stood, all Sundays and holy-days, singing and helping at the parochial service, and to walk in public processions.[13]

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[11] Nigel, bishop of London (A.D. 1189), having built two altars in his cathedral of St. Paul's, assigned eight marks yearly rent for the maintenance of two priests every day celebrating thereat; viz. one for the good estate of the king of England and bishop of London for the time being; as also for all the congregation of that church, and the faithful parishioners belonging thereto; and the other for the souls of the kings of England, and bishops of London, and all the faithful deceased.—Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 18.

[12] Very often these Masses were not what were then called "soul-masses," that is, of *Requiem*, and said in black vestments, but of the saint, or festival of the day: sometimes, however, the testator willed that at every Mass, one collect should be added for his soul especially; another for the souls of all the faithful departed:—Assigno quadraginta marcas decem capellanis celebrantibus decem annualia, et "Placebo" et "Dirige" singulis diebus cum ix lectionibus et commendacione: et celebrent de quocunque Sancto, secundum disposicionem executorum meorum. Ita tamen quod in singulis Missis dicant specialem collectam pro anima mea et generalem pro omnibus defunctis.—Test. Magistri Hospitalis de Sherborn.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 6.

[13] Prædicti (duo) capellani et successores sui cantariæ prædictæ in capella prædicta cotidie, quantum commode poterint, insimul dicant vesperas et matutinas cum ceteris horis canonicis de die secundum usum Sarum, vel prout usus dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis (S. Pauli Londin.) ibidem observatur. Et quod dicti nunc capellani et successores sui cantariæ prædictæ in dicta capella insimul dicant septimanatim singulis annis imperpetuum "Placebo" et "Dirige," cum novem leccionibus et suis antiphonis versiculis et responsoriis, omni feria quinta, et commendationem in crastino

(126) Besides both these kinds of chantries, there was another sort of endowment for having prayers said by the Church in behalf of the dead, and it was called

A "Certain,"

which, as it would seem to us at this distance of time, and athwart the indistinctness of what docu-

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ante missam de requiem, et quod eadem missa de Requiem per unum ipsorum duorum capellanorum in eodem crastino infra capellam prædictam celebretur. Aliis vero diebus insimul aut divisim, infra vel extra capellam prædictam commemoracionem de defunctis dicant secundum usum Sarum, specialiter pro animabus prædictis, &c. (*Statuta Cantariæ de Sherington*, in Hearne, *Hist. of Glaston.*, p. 181). These two chantry-priests were the keepers of the library founded by Sherington, A.D. 1457. Item ordinamus et statuimus, quod dicti nunc capellani prædictæ cantariæ et eorum successores, vesperis, completoriis, altis missis, et processionibus quæ fient in dicta ecclesia cathedrali, in festis principalibus ac duplicibus, et diebus dominicis necnon in processionibus, quæ per decanum et canonicos, et ceteros ministros ejusdem ecclesiæ cathedralis infra eandem ecclesiam, ac in diebus Rogacionum ac in generalibus processionibus per civitatem Londoniæ . . . et omnino secum in eorundem capellanorum habitibus habitui aliorum capellanorum aliarum cantariarum . . . conformibus, ex eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis perquirendis intersint, procedant, &c. nisi per proposicionem verbi Dei, seu sermonizacionem . . . faciendam, aut aliqua alia causa racionabili occupati aut præpediti fuerint.—*Ibid.*, 183.

The form of letter from a patron presenting a priest to a chantry, is given in *A Boke of Presydentes, &c.*, fol. ix., *imprinted at London in Flete strete*, by T. Marshe, *Anno* 1555.

As there were gilds and chantries in almost every parish church throughout the land, we may now understand how divine service was so often repeated every Sunday and festival, that a small church could well answer the wants of a numerous population, and that chancels which now seem very large in comparison with the rest of the building, were not too roomy for the number of priests and lower clerks assembled there at high mass and even-song. See also note 59, ii. 329 of this work.

ments (127) we have on the subject, consisted of saying, for certain persons, every day, at or after Mass, those same prayers which, by the use of Sarum, each parish priest was enjoined to put up to God, on Sundays, for all souls departed.[14] As the fulfilment of its requirements asked but little time and small labour, to procure for themselves the keeping of a "certain," came within the reach of many who would never have been able to found a chantry: indeed so easy was the work, that the wish to realise it was not cut off from the lowlier class of individuals.[15]

[14] These prayers may be seen in another part of this work, ii. 293.

[15] Thomas Cowper (A.D. 1512), buried in Diss church, provides in his last will for "the certen and the yerday for the soulys of S. Cowper and Margery his wife, T. Cowper and Agnes his wife, and all our children, for whom a priest shall be found to sing lx yers," &c. (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 27). Ric. Fuller (A.D. 1522) made provision to have his anniversary kept; "when they were to pay v*d.* to the rector for a dirige, iv*d.* to the clerk to ring a soul-peal, to four poor people 1*d.* each, and iv*s.* for a certeyn for his own soul and the souls of Tho. and Alice Fuller, his father and mother" (*ibid.*, iv. 259). Alice Carre (A.D. 1523) gave land "for a certeyn to be kept annually (or rather all through the year) for her and her friends, for which the curate was to have yearly iv*s.* iv*d.*; and an obit once a year, and ij*s.* iv*d.* then to be divided to such priests and clerks as the vicar or his deputy should order to be present at the *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and mass of *Requiem*," &c. (*ibid.*, 154). In the funeral expenses of John Paston, who died A.D. 1466, we find: "For to kepe the yere day at Bromholm the first yere after his dethe, viij*l.* ij*s.* iiij*d.*—to the parson of Hungate, vis. viij*d.* for a certeyn unto mighelmesse next after the said yere day viij*s.* viij*d.*" (*ibid.*, vi. 485). Simon Lister, of Hengham, bequeathed (A.D. 1483) lands "to the entent to fynd and kepe a certain in the said church for ever, for the sowles of John Lister my father, Margery my mother, Will. Lister, and Katherine his wife, &c., and the sowles of me and my wyffe; and also to kepe an

(128) To hinder the founder's wishes from being overlooked, or himself forgotten, his name was sometimes written in fair large characters upon a parchment scroll which hung at the altar,[16] sometimes (129) cut upon a brass plate, or painted on a board, and nailed to the wall south of the reredos, so as to catch the eye of the celebrant while he washed and wiped his fingers after the offertory,[17] at that part of the Mass called the

anniversary day for me the said Symond, and the sowles yerly in perpetuum," &c. (*ibid.*, ii. 426). In the curious and beautifully situated church of Morley, six miles to the north of Derby, there is yet to be seen nailed to the chancel's east end wall, so as to have caught the priest's eye as he stood at the epistle or southern side of the altar, a small brass plate written with the following notice of what must have been a "certain": Ffor the sowles of Rave Godyth, Thomas, Elizabeth Cecill, and John, and of theyr suxcessores, and for all cristen sowles De profundis etc., Ave Maria: et ne nos: requiem eternam etc. Domine exaudi oracionem with this orison Inclina Domine etc. John Sstathum ordeynd yis to be said and more writen in other diverse bokis.

Trade-gilds sometimes did not keep a priest of their own, but paid so much to a church to have a daily remembrance or "certain" made at Mass, for all their members living and dead; hence we find such notices as the following: the certent of iij gylds.—*Valor. Eccl.*, vi. p. iv.

[16] Habeant iidem duo capellani et successores sui cantariæ memoratæ semper coram se super altare ejusdem cantariæ in capella prædicta unam tabulam bene scriptam de nominibus eorum, tam vivorum quam defunctorum, pro quibus dicti capellani et successores sui specialiter tenentur orare . . . ad ipsorum capellanorum et successorum suorum celeriorem memoriam in ea parte habendam (*Statuta Cantariæ Sherington*, in Hearne, *Hist. of Glaston.*, p. 181). Among the books written out by John of Bruges, a monk of Coventry, for the use of the church of that city, is mentioned:—Kalendarium mortuorum super magnum altare.—Hearne, *Hist. of Glastonbury*, p. 291.

[17] The names of the founders of chantries were placed on a tablet over the altar, to be remembered in the Masses and prayers (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 93). The brass plate still to be

"Lavabo."[18] More generally at this, though sometimes at another portion of the Holy Sacrifice —the Pater noster—the custom was for the chantry-priest to turn towards the people, and telling them, in English, the names of (130) those for whom he was saying that Mass, beg of all present to pray in a more especial manner for those departed souls, and answer him in the psalm "De profundis," and the collects, which he forthwith began aloud in Latin.[19] Sometimes these

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seen on the south side of the wall against which the high altar once stood, in Morley church, Derbyshire, and mentioned just now (note 15, p. 105), shows how and where these tablets used to be fastened.

[18] Because the priest, as he then washes and dries his fingers, says to himself that part of the XXV Psalm (Protestant version XXVI) beginning from the VI verse: *Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas*, &c.

[19] Thomas, Earl of Derby (A.D. 1504), says: "One of the canons . . . to say Mass in the said chapel for my soul, &c.; and I will that at every Mass before the lavatorie, they shall audibly say for the souls I have appointed by name, and all other in general, *De profundis clamavi*, and such orisons and collects as are used to be said therewith," &c. (*Test. Vet.*, ii. 459). In his last testament (dated A.D. 1511), the well-known Chronicler Robert Fabyan says: "And I will that myn executrice cause at the least to be vi preests present at myn burying, whereof I will the highe Mass of oon be of Requiem, and the other .v. to be desyred to sing, oon a Masse of the v wounds, the ij^{de} a Masse of thassumpcion of o^{r} Lady, the iij^{de} a Masse of all Martirs, w^{t} a speciall memory of seynt Christoffer, the iiijth a Masse of all Confessours, w^{t} a speciall memory of seynt Nicholas, and the vth a Mass of all Vyrgyns, w^{t} a speciall memory of seynt Dorothy; to the either of which preests I bequeth, and everyche of them v^{d}., w^{t} condicion that at the tyme of the Lavatory everyche of theym turne theym to the people and exorte theym to pray for ye soules following, and all Xpen soules," &c. (Fabyan, *Chron.*, Preface, p. iv. ed. Ellis). In her last testament, Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, says: "I will that Masses be said for my soul and for the soul of Thomas, some

same (131) prayers were said, not during the liturgy, but immediately afterwards,[20] and at the founder's grave.[21] His

Beadsmen,

if he had any, took no small share in such a ceremonial. In some of those chantries set up by men of rank and wealth, an endowment was almost always made for the support and clothing of a limited number of poor men, usually thirteen, who, because their chief daily occupation consisted in going to church morning and afternoon, and (132) praying there for their benefactor's soul, were called "beadsmen." Clad in a long full cloth

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time Duke of Gloucester, and that at each of the said Masses, before the priest commences 'Et ne nos,' he pronounce with a loud voice, turning toward the people, 'for the soul of Thomas, sometime Duke of Gloucester, and Allanore his wife, and all Christian souls, for charity paternoster.'"—*Test. Vet.*, i. 147.

[20] Sir W. Calthorp, Knt. (A.D. 1494), directs friar Thomas Waterpepe to sing three years for his own, friends', and wife's souls—and after the gospel, to say openly at the end of every Mass, "De profundis," &c. (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iv. 417). The same thing is ordained in the foundation deed of the Strangewaye's chantery at Abbotsbury—Et immediate post quamlibet hujusmodi missam celebratam, idem sacerdos pro tunc celebrans dicere tenebitur psalmum "De profundis," cum oratione "Inclina Domine," pro animabus sequentibus, &c.—*Mon. Angl.*, iii. 59.

[21] Thomas, Earl of Salisbury (who died A.D. 1428), ordained thus: The two canons . . . immediately after the Mass of the Blessed Virgin be ended before my tomb, shall forever say the psalm of *De profundis*, with the Lord's prayer, the angelical salutation, and this prayer, *Deus cui proprium est*, &c., with these prayers also, *Inclina*, and *Fidelium Deus*, pro animabus parentum et progenitorum nostrorum inibi sepultorum, &c.—*Ibid.*, i. 216.

gown, generally of a dark colour, and having its left sleeve embroidered with the armorial bearings or cognisance of their founder, these beadsmen all knelt about his tomb, and, along with the chantry-priest, uplifted their voices in begging of God to have mercy on the dead whose ashes lay below.[22]

[22] Thomas Burgh, Knight (A.D. 1495), wills that in his new chapel in the parish church at Gainsborough . . . there shall be founded a perpetual chantry of one priest . . . and that there be founded at Gaynesburgh an hospital for five poor bedemen, for evermore, every one of whom to receive for his support j^{d}. a day, and to have every other year a gown of iij^{s}. iv^{d}. price . . . and that the said five bedemen be daily present at the Mass of my chauntry-priest, to help him to say *De profundis* in audience, and such of them as be learned, their paternoster, ave, and creed, at the least (*Test. Vet.*, i. 428). In his last will (A.D. 1556), Edward, Lord Hastings, directs thus: "My executors shall cause to be built at Stoke five convenient chambers, with chimneys in each of them, for one chauntry-priest, and four poor bedesmen; and I bequeath my manor of Bosworth . . . to maintain a priest at Stoke . . . to sing and say Mass, &c. for the souls of my father and mother, my own and my ancestors' souls in the same chapel, &c.; to the four poor men . . . a blue gown of broad cloth, of four yards, and a bull's head on the sleeve, once in two years, which poor men . . . to repair daily to the same church, to hear God's service, and to pray for the souls aforesaid and all Christian souls" (*ibid.*, ii. 741). These armorial bearings worn on the beadsmen's gowns, are mentioned in other documents: xvj cognisionibus vocatis skowchyns factis in broiderioru' prec' cujuslibet eoru' xx^{d}. (*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 420). The master of the hospital founded A.D. 1474 by Walter, Lord Mountjoy, had, every third year, to give unto each of those seven poor men a gown and a hood of white or russet of one suit, one time white and another time russet, the gown to be marked with a tayewe cross of red. The master shall wear neither red nor green, but upon his gowne of other colour a tayewe cross of blue upon his left side (*Test. Vet.*, i. 335). For the beadsmen of Durham Cathedral, it was ordained thus: Pauperes vero in togarum suarum sinistro humero rosam ex serico rubro factam, semper gerant, et quoties vel in templo, vel alio in

(133) Like the chantries, very many of our parochial churches also had belonging to them

publico loco processerint, dictis togis suis induti ubique incedant. —*Statuta et Ordinationes Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Dunelmensis*, p. 79. [This manuscript was in the possession of F. H. Dickinson, Esq.]

That these poor beadsmen should kneel around his tomb, and say their prayers over his body, is often enjoined by a founder: I will (orders Henry, Lord Marney, A.D. 1523) that every of the said five poor men shall be such as shall say at the least their paternoster, ave, and creed in Latin, and . . . at their uprising they shall say, for the souls of Sir Robert Marney, Knight, and his wife, Sir John Marney my father, and Jane his wife, also for the souls of Thomasine and Elizabeth my wives, of Thomas my son, and for the souls of all my children, five paternosters, five aves, and one creed, and every day go to the church of Leyr-Marney, and there hear Mass in the new chapel; moreover I will, that at their first coming into the church, every of them shall kneel down before the Sacrament, and say a paternoster and an ave, and then go to my tomb, and there kneeling down, say for my soul, and for the other souls above named, three paternosters, three aves, and one creed, in worship of the Trinity, and then go down into the church, and there, in the time of Mass or Masses, or else before their departure from the said church, say for the above-named souls *Our Lady's Psalter*, and at night before their going to bed, every one of them to say, kneeling on their knees, five paternosters, five aves, and the creed, for the souls aforesaid; also I will that such of them as can say *De profundis*, shall say it in lieu of the said five paternosters, five aves, and one creed; also that every Wednesday and Friday they go into the church, at afternoon, and there kneeling about my tomb, say for my soul and the souls aforesaid, *Our Lady's Psalter*, and if any of them can say *Dirige*, I will that they say it in lieu of Our Lady's Psalter (*Test. Vet.*, ii. 610, 611). "Our Lady's Psalter" was that devotion still used among Catholics, and known as the "Rosary." The far-famed London merchant Whyttington, besides a college of priests, founded and endowed an alms-house for thirteen poor people or beadsmen, who were to obey this among other regulations: Every day, first when they rise from their bedds, kneeling upon their knees, sey a "Paternoster" and an "Ave Maria," with special and herty recommendacion-making of the foresaid Richard Whyttington and Alice, to God and our Blessed Lady Maidyn Mary. And other times of the day, whan he may best and most commody

poor men who (134) were kept by the alms and testamentary bequests of the middle classes, to live and do as beads-folks (135) should, in behalf of their charitable benefactors.[23] Besides praying

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have leisure thereto, for the staat of al the soules abovesaid, say three or two sauters of our Lady at the least: that is to say, threis (thrice) seaven "Ave Marias," with xv "Pater Nosters" and three Credes—one (once) in the day at the least, in case it may be, that is to say, after the Messe or whan Complyn is don, they come togidder within the college, about the tomb of the aforesaid Rich. Whyttington and Alice, and they that can sey, shal sey for the soules of the seid Richard and Alice, and for the soules of al christen people, this psalm, "De profundis," with the versicles and oriosons that longeth thereto. And they that can shal sey three "Pater Nosters," three "Ave Marias," and oon Crede; and after this doon the tutour or oon of the eldest men of theym shal sey openly in English, "God have mercy on our Founders' souls and al Christen"; and they that stond about shal aunswer and sey "Amen."—Stow, *London*, iii. 4.

Young children were sometimes chosen to do the office of beadmen at funerals, over the grave. Robert Fabyan leaves the following directions in his last testament:—"I will that the wardeyns doo purvey for xii children, not passing the age of xii years, the which to be sett aboute my grave by ii tymes . . . and to say *De profundis*, for my soule and all X'pen soules . . . and if so many may not be had of that age that can say *De profundis*, then I will that so many as lake, may be such as can say their Paternoster."—*Test. Vet.*, ii. 508.

[23] William Oky (*c.* A.D. 1349) bequeathed "to the beadmen of the church of St. Nicholas ijs. of silver, annually to be received for ever, &c., and that the said beadmen shall be chargeable to keep the anniversary of me, Juliana my late wife, Margaret my wife, William my brother, and Robert my father, and Maud my mother, and for the faithful deceased, and for them pray annually for ever, at every head of a row in the town of Great Yarmouth" (Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 823). In some places it was the especial office of the beadman to go about and announce the obits and funeral services of a church: by the foundation deed of the Strangewaye's Chantry at Abbotsbury, it was thus ordained: Eodem die anniversario idem abbas et successores sui . . . deliberari faciet annuatim in perpetuum, et clericis in eodem anniversario pulsantibus quatuor denarios, et bedmanno qui obitum

daily in the church itself, often (136) was it that these parish beadsmen went abroad and prayed in public and aloud at various quarters of the neighbourhood, for the soul of him or her whom death had but just then carried off, or whose anniversary the rolling year would bring round on the morrow: every one in fine who partook, after any sort, of the public's benevolence, was taught in olden times to make known his gratitude, by prayers for his benefactors, dead or living, and thus to be a beadsman.[24] This Catholic

et anniversarium hujusmodi denunciabit annuatim quatuor denarios.—*Mon. Angl.*, iii. 59.

[24] In all our old English foundations for the sick, the old, and destitute, the beads—that is to say, prayers for benefactors living and dead—were said every day by the inmates, who were hence also called beadsmen. The brothers and sisters of St. Bartholomew, Sandwich, on being admitted into that house, took an oath, by which, among other things, they bound themselves to "be obedient w^{t} hooly deuocion' prayyng for the ffounder of this place in all man' deuocyons: and in especiall I shall be at the bedys in the churche, and at matynys, and atte messe, and evensong and complyne, as the custome of maner is and usage . . . so help me God, and all holy dome, and all seints of heven" (Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 574). There were beadsmen belonging to almost every institution established for pious purposes throughout the kingdom, during Catholic times:—All those that give any of their goods to the said hospital they be partakers of the prayers of iij priests, a xii beeds and an ankress by side sike folk (*Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 93). Again:—Et in elemosinis perpetuis annuatim solutis pro sustentacione xij pauperum domus elimozinarie vocate lez Maudelyn in Shaston orantium pro animabus fundatorum dicti monasterii (*Valor. Eccl.*, i. 280). Elemosina data xiiij pauperibus laicis vocatis Bedmen existencis et remanentibus infra dictum hospitalem (de Well) et diatim orantibus pro animabus fundatorum, &c. (*Valor. Eccl.*, v. 244). Denarium solutum pro custodia et supportacione xiij oratorum vocatorum Bedemen in dicto hospitali (de Greteham) in locis eisdem assignatis ad orandum pro animabus fundatorum dicti hospitalis imperpetuum, &c. xxxiiij$^{l.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$

feeling showed (137) itself even in the ways of everyday life, and people of all ranks called each other—beadsman.[25]

(138) What riches allowed the wealthy to do for themselves—get prayers said for their souls after death, the Church of our ancestors in this land, like a loving mother, took care should be done for each one without exception—for the lowest—the poorest of her children. Thus was it that, at her bidding, the priest, in saying Mass at any time, prayed for all the faithful departed; and with the same supplication each part, or, as it used to be and is called, "hour," of the public service contained in the portoos or breviary, was made to finish.[26] (139) Furthermore, one of the

(*ibid.*, 309). Sometimes a beadsman was made sacristan of a church or chapel. John Trollop, "squyer" (A.D. 1522), says in his will: I bequeth to my bedesman, Roger Rede, of Eden chapell, vj^{s}. viij^{d}. Also I will that the same Roger be bedesman at Eden chapell his lyf tyme, and he to have the gate of two kye and a horse in somer and sufficient hay for thaym in wynter, with the garthynges and orchard perteyning thereto, &c. And he to pray for me and myne awncestres and successors, and all the heires of Eden, with all Christen soulls.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, i. 106.

[25] Of yore, the writer of a letter asking any favour from a superior, signed himself "your poor beadsman": thus he meant to say to his befriending patron, that he would pray for his body's health whilst he lived, and for his soul's forgiveness whenever he might die.

[26] Besides the prayer for all the dead, in the canon of the Mass, and the usual ending to the "hours," of *et fidelium animæ*, &c., the following (out of the Salisbury Missal and the Salisbury Breviary), show the particular care of our old services to pray for the souls of all the faithful departed. *Oratio generalis*, &c. Animabus quæsumus domine omnium fidelium defunctorum oratio proficiat supplicantum: ut eas et a peccatis omnibus exuas: et tue redemptionis facias esse participes.—*Vigiliæ Mortuorum*, in *Manuale ad*

Salisbury rubrics enacted that every day, after the last Mass, all the dead should be prayed for in a formal and particular manner.[27] Our Church's thoughtfulness did not (140) end here; she bade not the clergy alone, but the whole of her people, to join the ministers of the altar in such a loving work of kindness. To help them in their devotions, she set forth in her prayer-books, drawn up for the people's use, several forms of supplication,

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Usum Sarum, fol. cxxii., imp. a M. Morin. [See York Manual, Surt. Soc., lxiii. p. 76*.]

Fidelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum remissionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum, &c.—*Ibid.*, *Missa pro defunctis*, fol. cxxviii. b. [*Ibid.*, p. 76*.]

[27] It is a curious fact, that the only observance peculiar to our venerable Salisbury rite to be found in use at the present day, is the praiseworthy custom of saying out aloud, after Mass, a particular prayer for the souls of all the faithful departed, which is still kept up by many among the Irish priesthood. In one of the Sarum rubrics, such a pious act is thus enjoined: *Omni die per annum, excepta Parasceves, post missam, in ultimo recessu ante prandium, in statione puerorum, dicitur Ps.* De profundis *pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, sine nota et sine* Gloria Patri, *cum* Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Requiem eternam. A porta inferi. Credo videre. *Non dicitur* Requiescant in pace, *ante Orationem pro mortuis secundum usum Sarum, sed post orationem loco*, Benedicamus Domino, *dicitur* Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus. Absolve, quæsumus, Domine, animas famulorum tuorum pontificum, sacerdotum, parentum, benefactorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Requiescant in pace. Amen. (*Sarum Breviary*, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, 1882, i. pp. xlii., xliii.) The "statio puerorum" means that part of the floor in the choir or chancel at which the singing boys stand when they chant: it was close to the steps between the choir and presbytery in cathedrals, and those leading up to the altar in the chancels of smaller churches.

teaching them, by one, how they should never go through a churchyard without beseeching heaven's forgiveness on those who were buried there;[28] feelingly telling them, by another, how earnestly they ought to call upon God in behalf of those who had no friends left in this world to pray for them.[29]

(141) From the foregoing notices, taken out of our national records, we behold how the Anglo-Saxon, the Norman, and the Englishman—all in fine who at any time lived in this land before it unhappily fell away from Christ's truth in the

[28] Prayers to be said while going through a churchyard, in behalf of all the dead buried there:—

Avete omnes anime fideles quarum corpora hic et ubique requiescunt in pulvere: Dominus noster Jesus Christus qui vos et nos redemit suo preciosissimo sanguine dignetur vos a penis liberare et inter choros sanctorum angelorum collocare: ibique nostri memores suppliciter exorare ut vobis associemur et vobiscum in celis coronemur, &c.

Domine Jesu Christe salus et liberatio fidelium animarum, qui non venisti animas perdere, sed salvare et dare animam tuam in redemptionem pro multis; immensam clementiam ac ineffabilem misericordiam tuam humiliter imploramus, ut animas omnium fidelium defunctorum in penis purgatorii cruciatas, misericorditer respicere digneris, et que iuste pro peccatis affliguntur tua benignissima pietate liberentur, &c.—*Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis Ecclesie ritum, &c.*, imp. a F. Regnault, A.D. 1526, fol. cxliiii.

[29] ¶ A praier to God for them that be departed, having none to praie for them.

Have mercie, we beseche thee, Lord God, through the precious passion of thy onely begotten sonne our Lorde Jesue Christe, have mercie on those souls that have no intercessors to thee to have them in remembrance, &c.: deliver them from the tormentes of their paines, and bring them into the company of the celestial citezins, through thy exceedinge great mercies, &c.—*The Primer in English and Latin, after Salisburie use, &c.* R. Caly, 1556.

sixteenth century—held steadfastly to the doctrines of a middle state and the good of praying for the dead. Each of these people carried out into practice, with lasting warmth and untiring earnestness, that strong belief of theirs upon these articles of faith; and bade Masses to be said, and bondsmen to be freed, and alms to be given, and works of kindness to be wrought, that the souls of the dead might be helped, through such holy appointed means. Before dying, too, they themselves provided and besought that what they had done for others, might be likewise done for their own souls when they should (142) pass away from this world. Such was the creed of all in this country for ages during times gone by; such is still the creed of many, in these our times—the faithful and worthy remnant of the unperishable Church of our fathers. The Catholic Englishman now believes and prays as prayed and believed his sires a thousand years, nay, fourteen centuries ago; he yet says at the holy Mass, as they used to say during that same awful Sacrifice, "Be mindful, O Lord, of thy servants who are gone before us with the sign of faith:" his lips help to keep up the echo of the Church's wailing for the dead, and make her sighs to be heard even yet throughout this land, and her mother-cries to heaven for its pardon on her children's suffering spirits—to be what they have been since Christianity began, and what

they will be till time be done—one unbroken, one never-ceasing, one endless supplication, as, at the close of public and private worship, he repeats her loving words, "May the souls of the faithful, through the mercy of God, rest in peace."

(143) CHAPTER IX

THE men who, for those among their dead brethren whose souls they deemed might perhaps be standing in need of help in a middle state, were so thoughtful as to put up daily earnest prayer and bestow such plentiful alms, did not the less remember their own ghostly wants on earth. While thus befriending the less perfect amongst the departed, they were aware how they themselves had brothers and sisters above, who would, in their turn, not forget their ghostly wants and struggles upon earth. Through the divinely-inspired writings of St. John, they had been taught to catch a glimpse of heaven as it is—thrown open to man by the death and uprising of Jesus the Redeemer. With the beloved disciple they beheld the throne amid the rainbow,[30] (144) and the four-and-twenty

[30] In giving the meaning of these words, St. Beda says:—Iris qui fit sole nubes irradiante, et post diluvium primo propitiationis indicio factus est, intercessu sanctorum quos Dominus illustrat, ecclesiam muniri designat. Qui bene smaragdo lapidi nimiæ viriditatis comparantur: quo enim hæreditatem immarcessibilem fide perfectiori expectant, eo potentius etiam cœteros orando protegunt (*In Apocal.*, cap. iv.) [*P.L.*, xciii. 143]. On another passage in the same book, this Anglo-Saxon holy father observes:—Ut nos scilicet non reprobos, sed in fide stabiles venturus inveniat, peccatis nostris sanctorum intercessu et Dei miseratione contectis.—*Ibid.* [149].

elders lying down and worshipping Him who sat thereon, every one of them having harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the Saints. Under the altar they saw the souls of those that were slain for the Word of God; and they heard those same souls crying with a loud voice upon the Lord.[31] They knew full well and duly prized that hallowing call which had been sent them: in belonging unto Christ's one, only, Catholic unfailing Church, they were aware they had "come to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels . . . and to the spirits of the just made perfect."[32] They strove their best to share the benefits here below of such a fellowship with the celestial hosts, and with those happy beings who are already gone to bliss on high in presence of their Maker.

The Invocation of Saints and Angels

was, in very truth, an article of belief strongly upheld and warmly followed

Among the Anglo-Saxons.

Sound in every article of their Catholic creed, the Anglo-Saxons unmistakably held what the Church now teaches, as she has always taught, that the

[31] *Apocal.*, iv., v., vi.

[32] *Hebrews*, xii. 22, 23.

faithful soul, on being called by death from this (145) world, is carried to instantaneous judgment,[33] and if found not only laden with good works but spotless from every stain of sin, is, that moment, given to behold its Maker in all His glory, and to take its place of happiness, along with the angels, and its fellow-saints, in His never-ending kingdom.[34] All through their liturgy such a cheering truth was taught them; and whether at the altar's foot the priest uplifted his hands in supplication for his people, or the choir burst forth in gladsome strains, and sang its festive anthems, or the preacher spoke the tidings of salvation to his hearers—collect,[35] and chaunt,[36]

[33] See note 54, in vol. ii. of this work, pp. 237, 238.

[34] Of the holy Ædilburga, Beda says:—Cujus talem fuisse constat vitam, ut nemo qui eam noverit, dubitare debeat quin ei exeunti de hac vita cœlestis patriæ patuerit ingressus (*Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 9): and of Oswald [see note 50, p. 128]. What this learned saint declares of these individuals, he asserts of all holy people, a little further on in this same work:—Nam quicumque in omni verbo et opere et cogitatione perfecti sunt, mox de corpore egressi ad regnum cœleste perveniunt, &c.—*Ibid.*, v. 12.

[35] Deus qui anime famuli tui Gregorii æterne beatitudinis premia contulisti, concede propitius, ut qui peccatorum nostrorum pondere premimur, ejus aput (*sic*) te precibus sublevemur.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 51.

[36] Awakened by unseen fingers, as it hung against the wall, St. Dunstan's harp once rang forth those strains with which the Anglo-Saxon church used to sing the anthem, "Now are glad in heaven the souls of the saints," &c. Sumpsit (Dunstanus) secum ex more citharam suam quam lingua paterna hearpam vocamus . . . contigit, ut hæc eadem beati tironis cithara, pendens in cubilis pariete, audientibus cunctis sponte sua sine tactu cujusquam, jubilationis modulum alta voce personaret. Hujus enim antiphonæ melodiam concinendo personuit . . . "Gaudent in cœlis animæ Sanctorum," &c.—*AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 350.

and sermon[37]—all said but the selfsame (146) thing, that the souls of the Saints were even now above along with Christ: to call in question the enjoyment, by the good, of heaven's full bliss immediately after this life, was declared an error

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[37] "The holy church celebrates the birth-tide of three persons: of Jesus, who is God and man, and of John his messenger, and of the blessed Mary his mother. Of other chosen persons, who, through martyrdom, or through other holy merits, have gone to the kingdom of God, we celebrate as their birth-tide their last day, which, after the fulfilment of all their labours, brought them forth victorious to eternal life; and the day on which they were born to this present life we let pass unheeded, because they came hither to hardships, and temptations, and divers perils. The day is memorable to the servants of God which sends his saints, after victory won, to eternal joy, from all afflictions, and which is their true birth; not tearful as the first, but exulting in eternal life." —*Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. 353, &c.

In every illuminated manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon period, each figure of a saint we behold with a circle of glory round the head. For such a disk of golden brightness, "nimbus" is the modern, "corona" the olden, name. John the Deacon, who wrote (*c.* A.D. 875) the life of St. Gregory the Great, while speaking of a portrait then at Rome of that holy pope, tells us, that as a token of its having been painted in the pontiff's lifetime, it had about the head a square instead of the circular "corona":—Circa verticem vero tabulæ similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, præferens, non coronam. Ex quo manifestissime declaratur, quia Gregorius dum adviveret, suam similitudinem depingi salubriter voluit, &c. (*Vita S. Gregorii Papæ*, iv. 84) [*P.L.*, lxxv. 231]. Of the latter symbol, Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130) says:—Lumina, quæ circa capita sanctorum in Ecclesia in modum circuli depinguntur, designant quod lumine æterni splendoris coronati fruuntur. Idcirco vero secundum formam rotundi scuti pinguntur quia divina protectione ut scuto nunc muniuntur.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 133 [*P.L.*, clxxii. 586]. By putting, then, this kind of crown, which is now called "nimbus," about the head of any figure, the Anglo-Saxon limner meant to speak the belief of his countrymen, and to say that the soul of him or her there set before our eyes, is now in the everlasting bliss of heaven, betokened to us by the circle's bordering line, which runs round and round without ending.

of no (147) small magnitude against true faith.[38] Moreover, while they asserted that the kindness of God allots (148) to every one an especial angel-keeper, to walk with and shield that individual from ghostly harm, as well as to be a witness to his deeds and thoughts and speech all along this world's pilgrimage,[39] the (149) Anglo-Saxons

[38] Talking of the "antiquus serpens de dumis Hispanici ruris," our Alcuin says:—Est quoque in quibusdam clancula dubitatio: an animæ sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum, aliorumque perfectorum ante diem judicii in cœleste recipiantur regnum. His et hujusmodi spiculis, de pharetris, ut æstimo, exemptis perfidiæ, unitatem sanctæ et catholicæ ecclesiæ, et veritatem universalis fidei aliqui vulnerare nitentes, etiam et spurcissimis errorum fæcibus limpidissima ecclesiasticæ fidei pocula inficiunt (Alcuin, *Epist. ad Paulinum Patriarcham.* Opp. i. 147) [*P.L.*, c. 342, 343]. The Anglo-Saxon church had, in the person of Alcuin—as well as by St. Boniface (see ii. 237, 238, note 54)—already by anticipation condemned the errors which Burnet was not bold enough to broach in his own lifetime, but left (in his posthumous work, *De Statu Mortuorum*) to taint by its heterodoxy some, and startle and horrify others among his Protestant countrymen, of whom many cherished this Catholic truth, as we may gather from almost any place of Protestant worship. In St. Paul's, London, one of its tombstones says:

"though body lye in tombe
His sowle immortal lives in Heaven, by Godde's eternal dome."
—*Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 79. Again, on others there:

"Illi autem humanis exempti rebus, Olympum
Nunc habitant, ubi pax et sine fine quies."—*Ibid.*, 82.

"God hath been pleased to take her from the miseries of this vaine world, and to receive her soule, with his Saints in Heaven."
—*Ibid.*, p. 82.

[39] Quod unusquisque nostrum habeat angelum, et in libro Pastoris, et in multis sanctæ scripturæ locis invenitur (St. Beda, *In Act. Apost.*, xii.) [*P.L.*, xcii. 973]. The Anglo-Saxon homilist tells us: "It is manifested that over every believing man an angel is set as a guardian, who shields him against the devil's machinations, and supports him in holy virtues, &c. It is a great honour for Christian men, that every one has from his birth an angel assigned to him in fellowship."—*Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. 517.

maintained that amid all the angelic throng, unto Michael alone belonged the office of leading each soul from earth to the judgment-seat of Christ,[40] who, to show His love towards the more holy of his followers here below, did ofttimes send down, along with this archangel, crowds of the celestial hierarchy singing strains which angel-spirits alone can waken, and with gleams of light that only angels' wings may shed upon the skies, to fetch their souls to His tribunal and immediate glory.[41]

[40] Shortly before he died, St. Wilfrid spoke thus of St. Michael's coming to fetch away his soul from earth :—Ideo namque hæc statuta dico, ut me Michael archangelus visitans paratum inveniat : signa enim obitus mei multa frequentant.—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi,* lxii. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 95].

[41] Speaking of St. Wilfrid's death, his friend and follower Eddi says : Supra domum, quasi residentium avium cum sonitu iterum audierunt, et statim iterum avolantium in cœlum cum suavi modulamine pennarum. Sapientes autem, qui illic aderant, dixerunt, certe se scire angelorum choros cum Michaele venisse, et animam sancti pontificis (Wilfridi) in paradisum deducere.—*Ibid.,* lxv. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 99].

The choir of angels awaiting to go along with the good soul on its flight to heaven, is often glanced at in Anglo-Saxon writings : thus one of their poets sang :

> Veniunt cum luce ministri
> E cælo superi, portantque ad sidera sanctas
> Inde animas.

—Ethelwolf, *Carmen de Abb. Lindisf.* (*circa* A.D. 802) [*P.L.*, xcvi. 1333]. In the Anglo-Saxon legend of St. Guthlac, we read :

> Then was Guthlac's
> spirit led
> on upward way ;
> angels bare him
> to the lasting joy ;
> the corpse grew cold
> remaining under air.
> Then there shone of lights,
> of beams the brightest,
> all that beacon was,
> around the holy house,
> the heavenly ray
> up from earth
> like a fiery tower,
> rightly reared
> unto heaven's roof,

In books written by holy, learned, and truthful persons of their own and other countries, did those old and believing forefathers of ours read, how the souls of the good, when set free from the flesh, had often been seen surrounded with a dazzling (150) brightness, and wafted by angels upwards to the never-ending happiness of God.[42]

(151) What, by the grounds of Anglo-Saxon teaching, made our heavenly Father doom some children of His thus to the immediate bliss of His unclouded presence?

The Merits of such Saints,

for thus our Saxon forerunners chose to call both the wrestlings in which the evil one was over-

seen beneath the sky,
than the sun brighter,
the aspect of the noble stars.
Hosts of angels
a song of triumph sang,
music was in the air
heard under heaven,
the melody of saints.

—*Codex Exoniensis; a Collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 180, 181. See also *Vita S. Guthlaci* a Felice coævo (*c.* A.D. 714), in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 48.

[42] Describing the death of the abbess Earcongota, St. Beda says: Multi . . . jam manifeste se concentus angelorum psallentium audisse referebant, sed et sonitum quasi plurimæ multitudinis monasterium ingredientis; unde mox egressi dignoscere quid esset, viderunt lucem coelitus emissam fuisse permaximam, quæ sanctam illam animam carnis vinculis absolutam ad æterna patriæ cœlestis gaudia ducebat (*Hist. Ecc.*, iii. 8). Of bishop Ceadda our historian tells us: Postquam obitum suum Dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione munivit, soluta ab ergastulo corporis anima sancta, ducentibus, ut credi fas est, angelis comitibus, æterna gaudia petivit (*ibid.*, iv. 3). To a nun it was given to see how the abbess Hilda's soul was carried by angels to heaven: Vidit animam præfatæ Dei famulæ in ipsa luce, comitantibus ac ducentibus angelis, ad cœlum ferri.—*Ibid.*, iv. 23.

come, and every good deed[43] which those holy men and (152) women wrought on earth, not by their own, but that ghostly strength which God had bestowed upon their souls, without any right or title to it on their side, of His free gift, each while they readily bent their own free will to His high and hallowing behests.[44] As he stood before the altar, ministering at the sacred liturgy, and put up prayers to Heaven's mercy-seat beseeching divine help for the living, and forgiveness on the departed members of Christ's one fold, the Anglo-

[43] Good works done in this life were the golden ropes by which the soul was drawn up at death into heaven: Vidit manifeste quasi corpus hominis quod esset sole clarius sindone involutum in sublime ferri elatum. Cumque diligentius intueretur quo trahente levaretur sursum hæc, quam contemplabatur, species corporis gloriosi, vidit quod quasi funibus auro clarioribus in superna tolleretur, donec cœlis patentibus introducta amplius ab illa videri non potuit. Nec dubium remansit cogitanti de visione, quin aliquis de illa congregatione citius esset moriturus cujus anima per bona quæ fecisset opera, quasi per funes aureos, levanda esset ad cœlos, &c. (Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 9). By good works, sins might be bought off: Verum, inquit, dicis, quia et tibi et multis opus est peccata sua bonis operibus redimere (*ibid.*, 25). "Good works" are expressly named in some parts of the liturgy in use among the Anglo-Saxons, thus: Deus . . . praesta . . . ut . . . hoc bonis operibus exequamur, which is thus glossed in Anglo-Saxon: God . . . gionn . . . þte . . . ðisv̄ godv̄ þoercū þe gifylga (*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 14). In these words, too, was it that the Anglo-Saxon bishop spoke his blessing over the people on Easter eve: Ut cum bonorum operum lampadibus, ad hujus sponsi thalamum cujus resurrectionem celebratis, cum prudentibus virginibus intrare possitis. Amen.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 64.

[44] Deus qui sanctis tuis Abdo et Senni ad hanc gloriam veniendi copiosum munus gratiæ contulisti, da famulis tuis suorum veniam peccatorum, ut sanctorum tuorum intercedentibus meritis, ab omnibus mereamur adversitatibus liberari, per D'.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 63.

Saxon priest asked such boons from above, through (among other things) "the merits of the Saints."[45] When the (153) Anglo-Saxon poet sang the praises of the righteous dead;[46] or wrote out verses to be set about an altar raised (154) to the Godhead under the invocation of a particular saint;[47] or warned the world of that angel-trumpet

[45] Deus qui ex omni coaptione sanctorum æternum tibi condis habitaculum, da ædificationi tuæ incrementa cœlestia, ut quorum hic reliquias pro amore conplectimur, eorum semper meritis adjuvemur, per Dominum.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 46.

Intercedentibus pro nobis Christi apostolorum meritis, succurrat nobis omnipotens Dominus.

Intercedentibus pro nobis Christi martyrum meritis miseriatur nostri omnipotens Dominus; Amen.

Intercedentibus pro nobis Christi confessorum meritis exaudiat omnipotens Dominus; Amen.

Omnium sanctorum suorum meritis eruat nos, Dominus.

A malis cunctis pro nobis Christi intercedentibus sanctis, Salvator mundi misereatur nostri; Amen.

Sanctis intercedentibus, Christe, tuorum electis, succurre nobis omnipotens Dominus.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 128.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui in meritis sancti tui Cuthberhti sacerdotis semper es et ubique mirabilis, quæsumus . . . ad consequendam misericordiam tuam ejus nos precibus adjuvari, per.—*Ibid.*, p. 185.

Sanctæ dei genitricis mariæ, ac beatarum celestium uirtutum, sanctorum quoque patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, uirginum, omniumque simul sanctorum, quesumus, omnipotens deus, meritis ac precibus placatus tribue nobis misericordiam, &c.—*Leofric Missal*, 251 [*Missa de omni celesti virtute*].

[46] Inde petit superas meritis splendentibus arces
Angelicis turmis ad cœli culmina ductus
Cœlicolis junctus læta . . . sorte superna.
—*Carmen ad Templum Buggæ, inter Opp. Alcuini* [*P.L.*, ci. 1310].

[47] Hoc altare suis meritis, defendat ab hoste
Andreas Christi famulus.
—Alcuin, *Carmen ad S. Andream* [*P.L.*, ci. 757].

blast which will crack the rock-hewn sepulchre, rive and shake the deepest graves, and quicken the buried flesh and dust of all mankind, and bid it come forth for the second—last judgment, the holy doings of the good are called their "merits."[48]

But these merits, these "earnings" of the Saints, the Anglo-Saxon knew, are laid up above, where their sterling worth is acknowledged. He was aware that, through a "communion" which links all true members of Christ's church together, as children born within the one same household of the one same faith, the living are warranted in the trust they have of sharing in their brethren's good works, and being helped by them, for the sake of those ties of their ghostly kindred.[49] Those happy beings have (155) now reached the wished-for home, and are tasting all its sweets; they are dwelling in their celestial Father's company. Does their love, because they

[48] Vos in pace Dei chari requiescite fratres,
Donec ab ætheria clamet pius angelus arce:
Surgite nunc prompti terræ de pulvere, fratres:
Vos vocat adveniens judex de culmine cœli:
Cum meritis animas propriis assumite vestras.
—Alcuin, *Carmen in cymiterio* [*P.L.*, ci. 758].

[49] Deus qui nos beati Georgii martyris tui meritis et intercessione lætificas, &c. (*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 52). St. George seems to have been a favourite saint with the Anglo-Saxons; and it was before this martyr's altar that St. Dunstan, in a moment of ghostly trial, threw himself down: Dum in orationis opere ante altare martyris Christi Georgii vigilando desudaret.—*AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 352.

themselves have won heaven, grow cold? Must they therefore forget, or become heedless about, the brothers and the sisters whom they left struggling below on earth? No, surely.

Like the fiery cherubim, the saints who are now in heaven—"those spirits of the just made perfect"—burn warmer with divine love the nearer and the more they gaze upon it. That charity which never (156) "falleth away" glows even stronger than before in them; and loving, with still loftier and holier a love, us their brethren, whom they now behold from on high with yearning; they ever plead in our behalf unto Christ; they mingle their own with our prayers, and, like the four-and-twenty elders, offer them in golden vials to our divine Redeemer: hence, as with us in the present day, so among the Anglo-Saxons was taught and practised

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Deus . . . concede ut amborum (Petri et Pauli) meritis æternitatis gloriam consequamur.—*Rit. Ecc. Dunelm.*, p. 61.

Deus qui nos beati Johannis baptiste concedis natalicia perfrui, ejus nos tribue meritis adjuvari.—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

Concede propitius ut omnes qui martyrii ejus (S. Stephani) merita veneremur, intercessionibus ejus ab æternis gehennæ incendiis liberemur, per.—*Ibid.*, p. 64. In these and all other passages wherein it comes, the word "merita" is translated by the Anglo-Saxon gloss, "earnunge"—earnings.

> Vel saltem meritis Sancti mea crimina Christus
> Solvere dignetur, &c.

—Ethelwolf, *Carmen de Abb. Lindisf.* [*P. L.*, xcvi. 1334.]

The Intercession of Saints.

They said, and said well, that as Peter, while here on earth, and in the sight of men, did heal the sick by his shadow, so now, though above and all unseen, the apostle still affords strength to the faithful against their ghostly weaknesses, in overshadowing them with his intercession.[50] To win its forgiveness for his misdeeds, the sorrowing (157) sinner was taught to call not only himself upon heaven, but to beg of the saints to help him by their supplications.[51] Examples the Anglo-

[50] Tunc Petrus umbra sui corporis visibiliter allevabat infirmos, qui etiam nunc invisibili suæ intercessionis umbraculo fidelium infirma roborare non cessat.—St. Beda, *In Acta Apost.*, vi. [*P.L.*, xcii. 955.] This same holy Anglo-Saxon writer tells us how God's wrath had been stayed by the intercession of a saint in heaven, St. Oswald: Quod divina vobis misericordia per intercessionem religiosi ac Deo dilecti regis Osualdi qui, quondam genti Nordanhymbrorum . . . devotione sublimiter præfuit, conferre dignata est. Hac etenim die idem rex ab infidelibus in bello corporaliter extinctus, mox ad sempiterna animarum gaudia assumtus in cœlum et electorum est sociatus agminibus (*Hist., Ecc.*, iv. 14). Of St. Oswald, Beda adds: Nec mirandum preces regis illius jam cum Domino regnantis multum valere apud eum, qui temporalis regni quondam gubernacula tenens magis pro æterno regno semper laborare ac deprecari solebat (*ibid.*, iii. 12). Another Anglo-Saxon writer of about the same period says: Et ecce B. Bartholomæus fidus auxiliator, in matutinis vigiliis sese coram obtutibus illico obtulit: nec sopor illudebat, sed palam splendentis cœlicolæ agnovit vultum. . . . Exin S. Bartholomæus coram se persistens illum præceptis spiritalibus confortare cœpit pollicens ei in omnibus tribulationibus adjutorem sui venturum esse.—*Vita S. Guthlaci* a Felice coævo (*c.* A.D. 714), in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 41.

[51] St. Beda not only bids the sinner to ask the Saints for their intercession, but he tells him how they will beseech God's forgiveness in his behoof: Ideoque necesse est, ut cum reatum suum

Saxons could bring of holy men who had gained the object of their pious wishes through the apostles' pleadings with Christ,[52] and unto whom, in this (158) life, angels themselves came down to tell how saints above, how the Virgin-Mother of Christ, had made successful intercession in their behalf.[53] Among Anglo-Saxon writers, some of the most learned were wont to beseech the youthful clerks who officiated in the church of some great saint, to be good and holy if they sought to win for themselves the intercession above of their hallowed patron.[54] Volumes, no less beautiful than costly, used to be offered at the

cognoverit, mox ad preces lacrymasque confugiat, sanctorum crebris intercessionibus auxilia quærat, qui pro ejus salute rogantes Domino dicant: "precamur, Domine, miserator et misericors . . . dimitte eam quia clamat post nos; dimitte reatum et dona gratiam; nostrum intimo affectu quærit pronus suffragium."—Beda, *Homil.*, i. 19 [*P.L.*, xciv. 104].

[52] Servus igitur Dei Wilfrithus . . . a finibus terræ audire sapientiam præsulum mundi, Romam venit; et in oratorio Sancto Andreæ Apostolo dedicato, ante altare . . . humiliter genuflectens, adjuravit in nomine Domini Dei, Apostolum, pro Quo passus est, ut pro sua intercessione Dominus ei legendi ingenium et docendi in gentibus eloquentiam Evangeliorum concedisset; et sic factum est.—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi Ebor.*, v. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 7, 8].

[53] Ecce Angelus Domini in veste candida sancto pontifici nostro (Wilfrido) apparuit, dicens: Ego sum Michael, summi Dei nuntius, Qui misit me ad te indicare, quod tibi adduntur anni vitæ pro intercessione Sanctæ Mariæ, genitricis Dei semperque virginis &c.—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi Ebor.*, lvi. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 84]. A little later it is added: Sanctus presbyter præfatus (Acca) acuti ingenii intellexit, gratias agens Domino, eo modo pontifici nostro pro intercessione Sanctæ Mariæ [virginis] matris Domini, et pro subditorum suorum precibus annos vitæ additos.—*Ibid.* [p. 85].

[54] Discant officiales esse boni in domo Dei, ut benedictionem et gratiam, per intercessionem Sancti Bonifacii Patris sui, a Deo Christo recipere mereantur.—Alcuin, *Ep. ad Frat. Fuld.* [*P.L.*, c. 384].

altar;[55] palls, too, of no mean price were often (159) sent, for mantling the favourite shrine, on purpose to draw down this same blessing from him or her (whose relics lay within) on the giver,[56] unto whom as well as every other person wending his way through this world's pilgrimage, such kind protection from the saints in heaven was, during those ages, deemed quite needful. The liturgy then in use put forth this same truth; and while its collects and episcopal blessings proclaimed the joy with which our Anglo-Saxon church delighted to honour the festivals of the saints,[57] those prayers called trustingly on God to grant unto His people (160) the help and the protection of those His good and faithful servants, through their intercession with Himself in behalf

[55] Among the Cotton MSS. once existed one marked *Otho* B. 9, a fine codex of the four Gospels in Latin; before St. Matthew's Gospel, there was figured St. Cuthberht, with this superscription [now unfortunately burnt]:

> SCO CUDBERHTO EPIS
> EATHELSTAN ANGLORUM PIISIMUS REX
> HOC EVVANGELIVM OFFERT.

At fol. i. we learned who had the Saint painted: Benedictus Evernenficus pingere feci in honore Sancti Cudbrechti Episcopi.—Wanley, *Librorum Vet., Catalogue*, p. 238.

[56] Direxi unum pallium storacium ad corpus sancti Bonifacii Patris nostri, de cujus sancta intercessione pro peccatis meis magnam habeo fiduciam.—Alcuin, *Epist. ad Frat. Fuld.* [*P.L.*, c. 384].

[57] Deus qui nos annua beate Agnetis martyris tue solemnitate lætificas, da, quesumus, ut quam veneramur officio, &c.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 50.

Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, qui nos omnium sanctorum merita sub una tribuisti celebritate venerari, quesumus, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 73.

of mankind here below.[58] With (161) one of the olden glories of our land—with our own far-famed Alcuin—was it a work of love to draw up certain masses, so that, as he stood at the altar sacrificing to God, the priest might on one day of the week beg of heaven for the intercession of its Saints, on another, that of its Angels.[59] What our countrymen did for a portion was adopted by the whole of the Church; and to this hour, the

[58] Adesto, quesumus, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut qui, ex iniquitate nostra reos nos esse cognoscimus, beati Vincentii martyris tui intercessione liberemur.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis* p. 50. Fac nos, Domine, quesumus, sanctorum tuorum Primi et Feliciani semper festa sectari quorum suffragiis protectionis tuæ dona sentiamus (*ibid.*, p. 54). A cunctis malis inminentibus eorum intercessione liberemur (*ibid.*). Da, quesumus, (Deus) ut familia tua hujus (beati Johannis baptistæ) intercessione preconis et a peccatis omnibus exuatur, et ad eum quem prophetavit pervenire mereatur (*ibid.*, p. 56). Intercessionibus ejus (S. Stephani epis. et marty.) ab æternis gehennæ incendiis liberemur.—*Ibid.*, p. 64.

Deus . . . concede propitius ut contra adversa omnia Doctoris Gentium protectione muniamur.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 7.

Esto, Domine, plebi tuæ sanctificator et custos, ut apostoli tui Jacobi munita præsidiis, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 63.

Sit, Domine, beatus Marcus, martyr et evangelista nostræ fragilitatis adjutor, ut pro nobis tibi supplicans copiosius audiatur. —*Ibid.*, p. 52.

Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut continua sanctorum martyrum oratio et nobis prebeat incitamenta virtutum, et multiplici nos ubique suffragia consoletur, per D'.—*Ibid.*, 74.

Benedicat vos Deus . . . quatinus Petrus clave, Paulus sermone, utrique intercessione, ad illam vos certent patriam introducere, ad quam illi, alter cruce, alter gladio, hodierna die pervenire.—*Egbert Pontifical*, 87.

[59] Missas quoque aliquas de nostro tuli Missale ad quotidiana et ecclesiasticæ consuetudinis officia. Primo in honore summæ Trinitatis, deinde ad Sanctorum intercessiones deprecandas, etiam et angelorum suffragia postulanda, quæ multum necessaria sunt in hac peregrinatione laborantibus.—Alcuin, *Epist. ad Monach. Vedast.* [*P.L.*, c. 215].

Catholic priest in Newfoundland, or in Australia, in England, Italy, or in China, will find in his missal, and may say, those votive masses as they were first arranged, and allotted each one to its own day of the week, by our Anglo-Saxon brother Alcuin.

But, like other people of Christendom, our Anglo-Saxons had their favourites in heaven among those happy friends of God: being this land's first martyr, St. Alban at an early period became the nation's patron-saint:[60] the thought, too, of what had been (162) done for them by the great and good Gregory the Pope, and by the meek and kind monk Austin, never died in the grateful hearts of our Saxon forefathers; so that while, with the rest of the Church, they put those holy men in their calendar of Saints, they took

[60] Licet per totum ubique mundum beatorum martyrum qui suum pro Christo sanguinem fuderunt, merita divinæ laudis exultatione celebranda sint, eorumque Dei auxilio exempla gloriosa sequenda; præcipue nobis tamen beatissimi Albani, qui sub hac Britanniæ insula gloriosus martyrio effulsit, memoria, pia semper intentione et sedula sollicitudine observanda est. Unde ego Offa gratia Dei rex Merciorum cum filio meo Ecgfrido, pro amore omnipotentis Dei et huius sancti intercessione, terram xxx manentium . . . Domino meo Jhesu Christo ad ecclesiam sancti Albani, ubi ipse tyro primus in passione victima effectus est, juro perpetuo perdonabo.—Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.*, i. 195. Quamvis ubique per universum mundum merita beatorum martyrum divinis celebranda sint præconiis, eorumque suffragia qui pro Christi nomine sanguinem suum fuderunt totis nisibus amplectanda, Anglorum tamen populis intra ambitum Britanniæ constitutis specialiter est honoranda beati martyris Albani gloriosa victoria. So speaks King Ætheldred's charter, A.D. 1007.—*Ibid.*, vi. 157.

care to reverence them as the apostles of this country, by writing their names for invocation in the public litanies, and honouring the memory of each with his own especial holyday.[61] As well as that of the Saints,

The Intercession of Angels

was an article in the Anglo-Saxon's creed. In (163) singing the praises of their everlasting God, they declared that among His other blessings He had ordained and constituted the service of angels and men in a wonderful order; and that as His holy angels always do Him service in heaven, so by His appointment, they succour and defend us on earth.[62] This, like every other Christian truth, they knew it was not enough to utter: besides believing, they must also bring it into practice. Their teachers were therefore earnest in making the people understand that God's angels stood at

[61] Constitutum est præcepto, ut dies natalitius beati papæ Gregorii et dies quoque depositionis sancti Augustini archiepiscopi atque confessoris qui genti Anglorum missus a præfato papa et patre nostro Gregorio, scientiam fidei, baptismi sacramentum et cælestis patriæ notitiam primus attulit, ab omnibus, sicut decet, honorifice venerentur. Ita ut uterque dies ab ecclesiasticis et monasterialibus feriatus habeatur, nomenque beati patris et doctoris nostri Augustini in litaniæ decantatione, post sancti Gregorii invocationem semper dicatur.—*Concil. Cloveshoviensis* (*c.* A.D. 747), cap. xvii., in Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 97.

[62] Deus, qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas, concede propitius, ut, quibus tibi ministrantibus in cœlo semper adsistitur, ab his in terra, nostra vita muniamur.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 71.

all times by the sides of men; and that those unseen spirits more especially went along with them into church, to behold how they listened unto God's holy word, chanted the psalms, and behaved themselves at the solemnization of Mass.[63] To have the angels of (164) the Lord to be his especial protectors, and to watch over and shield him from all kinds of harm, both (165) night and day, was the hallowed wish of every Anglo-Saxon.[64] But of all the angelic host, St. Michael

[63] St. Beda says that the angels are more especially along with us during the time of prayer:—Maxime tamen angelici nobis spiritus adesse credendi sunt, cum divinis specialiter mancipamur obsequiis, id est cum ecclesiam ingressi vel lectionibus sacris aurem accommodamus, vel psalmodiæ operam damus, vel orationi incumbimus vel etiam missarum solemnia celebramus. Unde monet Apostolus mulieres in ecclesia velamen habere super caput propter angelos (Beda, *Hom.*, ii. 4) [*P.L.*, xciv. 151]. The admonition of St. Beda should be still kept in view; and Catholic ladies living in country houses belonging to which are chapels, ought to be instructed never to go into them bare-headed, though under the same roof: a covering to veil the head, of some kind, is indispensable. Females, in hot countries, where the custom is for them to walk abroad without any head-dress, never presume to enter a place of prayer without first hooding themselves with a kerchief: in Spain, the mantilla seems to have been expressly made for females to wear at church; the black silk faldetta of Maltese ladies, the long white muslin veil of Genoa, and the white muslin hoods worn by females in other parts of Italy, &c., will recur to every traveller. "But those angels," says the Anglo-Saxon homilist, "whom God has set as guardians over his chosen, never depart from his presence; for God is everywhere, and whithersoever the angels fly, they are ever in his presence, and partake of his glory. They announce our works and prayers to the Almighty, though to Him nothing is hidden, as the archangel Raphael said to the man of God, Tobias: 'When ye prayed, I offered your prayers before God.'"—*Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. 519.

[64] Angeli tui, Domine, me custodiant tam per diem, quam per noctem.—Alcuin, *In Lib. de Psal. usu*, i. 6 [*P.L.*, ci. 478]. Angelum

was most looked up to:[65] him before all others had the Almighty appointed to be His immediate messenger, to call away from earth and bring men's souls to judgment.[66] Hence, then, for every moment while on the road through this life, but more particularly for the death-struggle, did each Anglo-Saxon beg of heaven that he might have the succour and defence of its mighty archangel—of its Michael,[67] who fought with and overcame "that (166) great dragon, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world."[68]

In honouring his friends and servants, they knew they were doing honour to Christ the master, and therefore

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tuum sanctum nobis hic et ubique largire custodem, et defensorem. Of those words:—*Et factum est prælium magnum in cœlo. Michael et angeli ejus præliabuntur cum dracone*—St. Beda says: Cœlum Ecclesiam significat in qua Michaelem cum angelis suis contra diabolum dicit pugnare, quia secundum Dei voluntatem pro peregrinante Ecclesia orando et adjutoria ministrando confligit.—Beda, *In Apocal.*, ii. 12 [*P.L.*, xciii. 167].

[65] It is now credible that the archangel Michael has care of Christian men, who was prince of the Hebrew folk, while they believed in God. It is done by God's dispensation, that the great heavenly angel is the constant supporter of Christian men on earth, and their intercessor in heaven with Almighty God.—*Ælfric's Homilies*, i. 519.

[66] See note 33, p. 119, and note 70, further on, p. 137.

[67] Beati archangeli tui Michaelis intercessione suffulti, supplices te, Domine, deprecamur, ut quos honore prosequimur, contingamus et mente.

Da nobis, omnipotens Deus, beati archangeli Michaelis eo tenus honore proficere, ut cujus gloriam prædicamus in terris, ejus precibus adjuvemur in celis.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 71.

[68] *Rev.* xii. 7, &c.

The Anglo-Saxons Invoked the Saints and Angels,

just as the English used to do, after their times, and the Church everywhere still does. For his angel-guardian the Anglo-Saxon had an especial form of prayer, which he often said to that good spirit, asking it to succour and defend him.[69] How warm were those holy breathings from the Anglo-Saxon heart! Bent lowly down in supplication, he besought his Christ, his only Saviour, not to scorn him; he called up the holy, the most blessed Mary, his mother—so he loved to name her; he begged the four-and-twenty elders; he besought all God's holy angels; entreated all the holy patriarchs, and prophets; he addressed all the apostles, and martyrs, and confessors, and virgins; he cried out unto (167) all the saints, and chosen ones of the Lord, to come to his help. "O holy archangel," did he say, "in that fearful hour when my soul shall be about to go out from the flesh, thee to whom is intrusted the power of leading forth souls, do I beseech, that thou wouldst take mine when it shall leave my body, and keep it free from the thrall of the foe, so that I may pass by hell's gates, and get beyond the ways of darkness. Thee, too, do I call upon,

[69] Oratio ad Angelum custodem (*Cotton MS., Titus* D. xxvii., f. 74). This is an Anglo-Saxon codex of the tenth century.

O holy Peter, prince of the apostles, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to throw wide open for me the doors of paradise."[70] In words burning no less with eloquence than with love, did he often speak his petition to those of the saints on high, whom his own fatherland had begotten to the Church, as he bade them not to forget, but ever to befriend, by their (168) prayers in heaven, their countrymen whom they had left behind on earth;[71] more earnestly still did the Anglo-Saxon warrior breathe such petitions, as he went

[70] Ne me despicias Christe. Rogo sanctam et beatissimam matrem nostram Mariam, rogo viginti quatuor seniores, omnes sanctos angelos tuos deprecor, omnibus sanctis patriarchis ac prophetis supplico, omnes apostolos et martyres et confessores tuos, atque virgines rogo: similiter omnes sanctos tuos et electos Dei invoco in auxilium meum. Et in illa tremenda hora, qua anima mea egressura erit de corpore meo, sancte archangele, deprecor, qui animarum accipiendarum accepisti potestatem, ut animam meam suscipere digneris, quando de corpore meo erit egressura: et libera eam de potestate inimici, ut pertransire possim portas inferorum, et vias tenebrarum. . . . Te deprecor, sancte Petre, princeps apostolorum qui tenes claves regni cœlorum . . . ut portam paradisi mihi aperire digneris.—Alcuin, *Lib. de usu Psal.*, i. 6 [*P.L.*, ci. 477].

[71] O beatissime Christi sacerdos, ne nos derelinquas laborantes in terris, sed precibus tuis de cœlis adjuvare non cesses. Vita tua apud homines semper probata fuit pro Deo: sint preces tuæ apud Deum semper intentæ pro hominibus. . . . Sicut cedrus Libani multiplicasti filios tuos, qui ad te tota mentis intentione clamant: tu illos pia intercessione adjuvare digneris. . . . O felix anima, quæ sæculi labores dereliquisti, et cœlestem cum multiplicis sudoris tui fructu requiem intrasti. . . . In pauca fidelis fuisti in terris, super multa constitutus gloriaris in cœlis. Gaudia Domini Dei tui, quæ semper optasti, semper habere cœpisti. Te continuis, o Pater, prosequimur laudibus, tu nobis assiduis auxiliare precibus. Credimus te in præsentia Domini Dei tui omnia posse impetrare, quæ poscis.—Alcuin, *Homilia de Nat. S. Willibrordi*, § 3 [*P.L.*, ci. 712].

hurrying to battle,[72] or, grasping his sword, he made him ready for the death-strife.[73]

(169) Before all other themes, our Anglo-Saxon poets loved best to choose for the subject of their lays the lofty truths of our divine belief, as well as the lives of the saints. While, however, they sang the holy doings and the hallowed death of some faithful servant of God, they begged their fellow-man's intercession on high with their common Maker.[74] Unto their heaven-dwelling

[72] Veniens deinde ad Sancti (Johannis Beverlacensis) tumulum rex illustrissimus (Edelstanus), post excubias more patrio celebratas, post orationes corde supplici fusas, cum pavimentum devotissimis lacrimis perfudisset, protractum e vagina cultellum sacris imposuit altaribus, "Ecce," inquiens, "beatissime Johannes, sponsionis meæ vadimonium, ut cum auxilio tuo subactis hostibus cum prosperitate rediero, digno illud precio redimam, et quoad vixero, tibi gratus et devotus existam." . . . Et jam tempus advenerat præliandi cum præcedenti nocte rex oppressus somno, sanctum Johannem sibi aspicit assistentem, et ut secure congrederetur hortantem: "Devotionem," inquiens, "tuam quam circa sepulchrum meum exhibuisti, gratanter amplectens, oravi pro te Deum meum, et exaudivit vocem meam," &c. (Ethelredus abbas Rievallis, *Geneal. Reg. Angl.*, ed. Twysden, i. 357) [*P.L.*, excv. 724, 725]: this abbot of Rievaulx is better known as Aelred.

[73] While arming himself, during Anlaf's night attack upon his camp, that brave Anglo-Saxon king Æthelstan called upon God and St. Aldhelm: Inclamato Deo et sancto Aldelmo, reductaque ad vaginam manu invenit (Ethelstanus rex) ensem, &c.—William of Malmesb., *Gesta Reg. Angl.*, ii. § 131 [*R.S.*, cclvii. i. 144].

[74] After saying of the holy virgin and martyr St. Juliana how:—

> Then was her soul
> from the body led
> to the lasting joy
> through stroke of sword:

and how was brought:—

> with songs of praise
> the holy maiden's corse

patron they often called by name;[75] at the same time they besought all (170) Christ's happy followers now along with Him, to help and befriend them, poor weak beings here below, by prayer at the foot of the Almighty's throne above.[76]

with a great power
to its mould-grave;

the Anglo-Saxon poet tells us :—

To me it is much needful — therefore I mercy need
that the saint me — that for me the saint
help afford — with the highest
— King should intercede, &c.

—Legend of St. Juliana in *Codex Exoniensis*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 282, 283, 285.

[75] Claviger ætherius, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida cœlorum recludens regna Tonantis,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota precantum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant imbribus ora:
Suscipe singultus commissa piacla gementum,
Qui prece fragranti torrent peccamina vitæ.

—St. Aldhelm, *Versus in honor. Apost.*, in *Opp.* ed. Giles., p. 128.

O thou Mary — in this vale of death
of this mid-world — error obey
the purest — but that he us convey
woman upon earth — into his Father's kingdom,
. . . — where we sorrowless
intercede for us now — may after
with bold words — dwell in glory
that he let us not — with the God of hosts.
any longer

—*Codex Exoniensis*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 17, 21, 22.

O Martine Sancte meritis præclare juva me miserum meritis modicum, &c., in Wanley, *Librorum Vet. Catal.*, 189.

[76] Jam tempus cogit currentes claudere versus,
Rustica magnificis condentem carmina sanctis.
. . . . . .
Hos igitur pauper supplex obsecro patronos,
Virgineis proprium comentes actibus ævum
Et famulas Domini precibus pulsabo misellus,

(171) Besides the poet with his glowing thoughts, the stayed cool statesman, while drawing out a deed of the gift which his kingly lord had bestowed upon the Church, would begin it by calling upon the saint after whom the minster thus endowed was named: in the earliest known legal document belonging to the Anglo-Saxon age, its first words are an invocation to St. Andrew.[77] That such religious practices should have found their way into the literature and the muniments of a Christian (172) people, ought not to awaken our surprise, when we think that the teaching upon which they were grounded did not spring out of the poet's heated fancy, or the cloistered writer's overwrought earnestness: through their liturgy, the invocation of saints was taught the Anglo-Saxons, as it has ever been taught to all true believers in Christ by his one unerring Church. This we find not only

Integritate sua quæ Christi regna merentur,
Limpida stelligeri scandentes culmina cœli,
Ut Dominum pulsent clamosa voce Tonantem,
Qui solet indignis ultro miserescere vernis,
Conversisque reis noxarum solvere vincla,
Quatenus ante diem, qui vitæ lumina claudit,
Necnon ante diem qui mortis limina pandit,
Cuncta piaclorum solvantur gesta meorum.

. . . . . .

Sic mihi dignetur Sanctorum summa potestas,
Præsidium misero devote ferre vicissim.

—St. Aldhelm, *De Vitiis*, ed. Giles, p. 213.

[77] Ideoque tibi, Sancte Andrea, tuæque ecclesiæ . . . trado aliquantulum telluris mei.—*Charta Anglo-Saxonica Æthilberhti* (A.D. 604), in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl. Anglo-Sax.*, i. 1.

in the litany,[78] but all through the ritual in use among our early countrymen, who by both were told to cry aloud unto the choirs of the angels, and the saints, of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins in heaven, begging those happy beings to pray for them their brethren on earth. At a church's (173) dedication, while he put the sacred building under the pious keeping of Mary, the holy virgin mother of God, and afterwards, of that one among the blessed above whose name it was to have, the Anglo-Saxon bishop called thus upon its patron saint:—"To thee do we entrust the care of this temple, which we have hallowed unto the Lord our God, that herein thou mayst dwell an intercessor, that thou mayst bear the offerers' vows to the Lord God, and be the ever-wakeful watch, and abiding door-keeper of this house of the Lord. Stretch out the shield of thy hindrance against the wiles of mankind's foe, lest he here

[78] In the Litany given in Ecgberht's Pontifical, the following saints are, among others, called upon to pray for us: St. Cuthberht, St. Guthlac, St. Eufemia, St. Brigida, St. Columba. In the shorter Litany, we have: Omnis chorus angelorum, ora pro nobis; Omnis chorus apostolorum, ora pro nobis; Omnis chorus martyrum, ora pro nobis; Omnis chorus confessorum, ora pro nobis; Omnis chorus virginum, ora pro nobis, &c. [pp. 29, 32, 33]. Another liturgical codex, once in use among the northern Anglo-Saxons, has this anthem:—Sancte Paule apostoli (*sic*) predicator veritatis et doctor gentium, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum, &c.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 153. There is not a codex in being of the Hymnarium used by the Anglo-Saxons in the liturgy, but what is full of invocations to the saints: the two among the Cotton MSS. (*Julius* A. 6, and *Vespasianus* D. 12) are enough to show this to the reader. [See Surtees Soc., vol. xxiii.]

become the crafty tainter of the holy prayers and vows of the faithful. Having all the saints interceding for them, and more especially thee to whom we commend the care of this church, and under the buckler of the divine safeguard, may every one praying here be heard by the Lord. An angel's help going along with thee, carry up, in a golden vial, to the throne of the Father, the sweetly-smelling prayers of Christ's people, and beseech that the Lord our God, by his ever looking down upon them, may vouchsafe to watch over and lead those who come in hither and pray."[79]

(174) When he went to cleanse his soul in the sacrament of Penance, before he began his shrift the Anglo-Saxon said that he confessed his sins to Almighty God, to Saint Mary the holy mother of our Lord, and to all God's saints: having gone through his confession, he besought, as Catholics still beseech, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael,

[79] Tibi Sancta Dei genetrix virgo Maria, vel tibi Sancte Johannes Baptista Domini, vel apostoli Dei, vel martyres Christi, vel confessores, vel virgines Domini, commendamus hanc curam templi huius quod consecravimus Domino Deo nostro, ut hic intercessor existas, preces et vota offerentium hic Domino Deo conferas, custosque pervigil, et ianitor insegregabilis huius domus Domini perseveres. Inimici humani generis tentamentis scutum interpellationis tuæ opponas, ne precum sanctarum et votorum hic fidelium malitiosus infector efficiatur, sed omnibus sanctis intervenientibus teque præcipue cui hanc curam commendamus, interveniente clipeo divini tutaminis omnes hic orantes a Domino exaudiantur. Odoramenta orationum plebis Christianæ in libatorio vasis aurei, angelico comitatus juvamine ad Patris thronum conferas, precerisque quatinus jugi Dominus Deus noster intuitu hic ingredientes et orantes tueri et gubernare dignetur.—*Alet Pontifical*, Ordo ad dedicandam Basilicam, in *Archæologia*, xxv. 39.

St. Peter and the apostles, St. Stephen and all the martyrs, and all Christ's confessors, and all holy women, to pray unto God to forgive him his sins.[80] (175) To hearten him forwards in the path of holy living, and to let him see how youthful or aged flesh and blood, like unto his own, and dwelling amid the self-same world, could fight and had overcome each ghostly foe, the lives of the saints, as the year brought round their festivals, were read up aloud in the church.[81]

Amid, however, those choirs of angels and archangels—amid that dazzling crowd of saints and white-robed army of martyrs, far above them all, to Anglo-Saxon eyes, shone

The Virgin Mary, the Object of the Anglo-Saxons' Particular Devotion.[82]

[80] Quando aliquis voluerit confessionem facere peccatorum suorum . . . prosternat se humiliter in conspectu Dei super terram, adoratione, et lacrimas fundens; rogat beatam Mariam, cum sanctis angelis, et sanctis apostolis, et martyribus et confessoribus, et virginibus, et omnibus electis Dei, ut ipsi intercedant pro se ad Dominum.—*Canons under K. Edgar*, in Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, ii. 260. Ic andette þe Drihten ælmihtig God, and scā Marian þinne haligan modor. 7 eallum haligum and þe bisceop ealle mine sýnna . . . forþam ic bỹdde þe scām Mariam ures Drihtnes modor, and scm̄ Michaelem þone heah-engel. 7 scm̄ Petrum mid eallum apostolum. 7 scm̄ Stephanum mid eallum martirum. 7 ealle Cristes andetras. 7 ealle halige. 7 gecorene fæmnan. 7 þe b̄. þaet ge gebiddan for me þam unþurþestan synfullan, to þam ælmihtigan Gode, þaet he us for urum synnum gemiltsige.—Wanley, *Librorum Vet. Catal.*, pp. 111, 112.

[81] Sanctarum virginum Anatholiæ et Victoriæ præconia . . . dum scedarum apicibus quando rotante anni circulo natalitia earundem Catholici celebrant, in pulpito ecclesiæ recitantur.—St. Aldhelm, *Lib. de Virginibus*, in *Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 68.

(176) Christ's ever-virgin mother they deemed the holiest, the highest, the very first of all God's creatures. Her they looked up to as the one most worthy of their fondest love, their warmest child-like reverence, their unbounded trust. They called her "the mother of God"; the most endearing words, the most beautiful appellations out of Holy Writ, became epithets for her: she was "the garden enclosed," "the fountain sealed up," the "rod of the root of Jesse bearing flower," "the one dove amid the threescore queens."[82] They

[82] The name of the B. V. Mary stood before that of any angel or saint, in the Anglo-Saxon litanies:—

Sc̃a Maria or'	Sc̃e Petre or'	Sc̃e Stephane or'
Sc̃e Michel or'	Sc̃e Paule or'	Sc̃e Line or'
Sc̃e Gabriel or'	Sc̃e Andrea or'	Sc̃e Clete or'
Omnis chorus angelorum ora pro nobis	Omnis chorus Apostolorum ora pro nobis	Omnis chorus Martyrum or' pro nobis, &c.

—*Egbert Pontifical*, 32, 33. Other old forms of Anglo-Saxon litanies have been printed by Mabillon and Mai from ancient MSS. In Mabillon's codex our Blessed Lady's name comes immediately after our Lord's, and is invoked three times thus:—

Christe audi nos
Sancta Maria or.
Sancta Maria or.
Sancta Maria or.
De Angelis
Sancte Michael or., &c.—*Vet. Analecta*, p. 108. The Vatican codex quoted by Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, v. 08, once belonged to St. Edmund's Minster, Suffolk.

[83] Beata Maria, virgo perpetua, hortus conclusus, fons signatus, virgula radicis: gerula floris, aurora solis, nurus patris, genetrix et germana filii simulque sponsa ac fœlix vernacula, sanctarum socrus animarum, supernorum regina civium, columba inter LX reginas et bis quadragenas pellices, propter perenne puritatis privilegium, &c. . . . Verum mihi de Mariæ perpetua virginitate, quæ ante sacri sermonis receptaculum virgo favorabilis extitit, et

hailed (177) her as their "sea-star"[84] through this life's tempests; they greeted her as "our Lady";[85] in her they beheld fulfilled what was symbolized to them in the maiden bee that brings forth its young in unsoiled virginity;[86] each one of their churches was dedicated (178) to God partly in her honour,[87] while in most of them a chapel at the eastern

post cœlestis puerperii præconium virgo favorabilior permansit, sollicite scribenti repente ad memoriam rediit.—St. Aldhelm, *Lib. de Laudibus Virginitatis*, in *Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 54.

[84] The Latin hymnarium with an Anglo-Saxon interlinear translation, among the Cotton MSS., has the beautiful hymn to the B. V. Mary, "Ave maris stella."—*Cotton MS., Julius* A. 6 [Surtees Soc., vol. xxiii., p. 76].

[85] "Non patiatur domina mea, sancta Mater Domini mei Jesu Christi Maria, ut ille mihi vel quid in regia dignitate deficiat." Et hæc dicens (Æthelfleda nobilissima et religiosissima matrona) antiquam Dei genitricis Mariæ ecclesiam quantocius intravit, seseque ibi rogatura prostravit.—*Vita S. Dunstani*, a coævo, in *AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 350 [*R.S.*, lxiii. 187].

[86] Apes ceteris q(uæ) subjecta sunt homini animantibus antecellit. Quum sit minima corporis paruitate, ingentes animos angusto uersat in pectore, uiribus imbecillis, sed fortis ingenio. O uere beata et mirabilis apes! cuius nec sexum masculi uiolant, fetus non quassant, nec filii destruunt castitatem! Sicut sancta concepit uirgo maria, uirgo peperit et uirgo permansit (*Leofric Missal*, 97; *Benedictio Cerei in Sabbato S'co*). St. Aldhelm held the same opinion about the natural history of the bee, for he says of it, in one of his *Ænigmata*:—

Mirificis formata modis, sine semine creta.

—*Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 252.

[87] In the service for the dedication of churches, to be found in Abp. Ecgberht's Pontifical, we have the prayer following: Tabernaculum hoc ingredere, quæsumus Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, et famulos famulasque tuos congregatos ad honorem et laudem tuam, Beatæ Mariæ sacræ Virginis, et Ill'., &c. (32). How strong the beseechings of the Blessed Virgin Mary are with God, is told us in another codex of the Anglo-Saxon liturgy, which has this prayer: Magna est, Domine, apud clementiam tuam Dei genetricis oratio, quam idcirco de presenti seculo transtulisti,

end bore her name;[88] (179) to do her homage, endowments were bestowed upon those sacred buildings;[89] mothers and fathers brought their children thither to dwell within their walls, and serve God under the holy keeping of the Virgin;[90] and some of the great and striking solemnities of the Christian year told, in their prayers, what those Saxons believed of the spotless mother of our Lord, or, as they called her, "the queen of the whole world."[91]

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ut pro peccatis nostris apud te fiducialiter intercedat.—*Rituale Ecc. Dunelmensis*, p. 66.

[88] Huic (S. Dunstano) igitur dum in propria præsulatus sui civitate commanebat, sanctæ consuetudinis inter cætera sublimitatum studia fuit, ut in secretis noctium temporibus sancta loca . . . sancta semper psalmodia decantando lustraret. Et venit hac lege religionis innexus ad almi patris Augustini ædiculam . . . et dum se sacris inibi suppleret orationibus, processit ad orientalem Dei puerperæ ecclesiam, tantumdem precaturus. Cumque ad hanc propinquando psallendoque venisset, forte . . . audierat insolitas sonoritarum voces subtili modulamine in hac eadem basilica concrepantes. At ille continuo per quendam patuli foraminis hiatum inspiciens, &c.—*Vita S. Dunstani*, a coævo, in *AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 358 [*R.S.*, lxiii. 48].

[89] Monasterium quod situm est in Abbendonia, says Cœnwulf, in his deed of gift (A.D. 821), quodque dedicatum est in honore sanctæ Mariæ semper virginis et Dei genitricis, dominæ nostræ, &c. (Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.*, i. 270). King Æthelred says (A.D. 983), In veneratione sanctæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ (*ibid.*, iii. 199); and Æthelwulf of Wessex (A.D. 844), In honore . . . sanctæ Mariæ reginæ gloriosæ Dei genitricis, &c.—*Ibid.*, v. 94.

[90] When but a boy, St. Dunstan was sent by his father and mother to Glastonbury, that in that far-famed minster he might give himself up to the service of God, and of Mary God's mother: Quatenus ibidem die noctuque Deo Deique Genitrici deserviret Mariæ.—*Vita S. Dunstani*, a coævo, in *AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 348 [*R.S.*, lxiii. 10].

[91] Such is the title given to the B. V. Mary by the Anglo-Saxon homilist.—*Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. 439.

More than one day the Anglo-Saxons hallowed, during the year, to the honour of the Virgin: for bringing to their remembrance her Purification, candles were blessed at the altar, and borne lighted (180) about the highways, with singing, in procession;[92] but upon the memory of her having been carried up body and soul into heaven after death, and crowned by her divine Son with glory—or her Assumption—they looked as her highest festival, and as such kept it with a solemn service. In his sermon on the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, the Anglo-Saxon homilist says:—"We read here and there in books, that very often angels came at the departure of good men, and with ghostly hymns led their souls to heaven, and what is yet more certain, men at their departure have heard the song of men and women, with a great light and sweet odour: by which it is known, that those holy men who through good deserts come to God's kingdom, at the departure of other men receive their souls, and with great joy lead them to rest. Now, if Jesus has often showed such honour at the death of his saints, and has commanded their souls to be conducted to him with heavenly hymn, how much rather thinkest thou he would now to-day send the heavenly host to meet his own mother, that they, with light immense and unutterable

[92] *Ælfric's Homilies*, i. 151.

hymns, might lead her to the throne which was prepared for her from the beginning of the world.

"This festival excels incomparably all other saints' mass-days, as much as this holy maiden, the mother of God, is incomparable with all other maidens. (181) This feast-day to us is yearly, but to heaven's inmates perpetual. At the ascension of this heavenly queen, the Holy Ghost in hymns uttered his wonder, thus inquiring, 'What is this that here ascends like the rising dew of morn, as beauteous as the moon, as choice as the sun, and as terrible as a martial band?'" [93]

"What more shall we say to you of this feast-day, but that Mary, the mother of Christ, was on this day, from this world of toil, taken up to the kingdom of heaven to her dear Son, whom she had borne in life, with whom she rejoices in eternal mirth to all eternity. Let us now fervently pray the blessed Mary, who was to-day raised and exalted above the host of angels, that she intercede for us to the Almighty God, &c." [94]

Not merely by the title under which it had been set apart to the Almighty's worship, but in the most comely and dazzling ornaments beneath its roof, many an Anglo-Saxon minster showed

[93] *Ælfric's Homilies*, i. 441.

[94] *Ibid.*, ii. 445. While giving his blessing to the people on this day, the bishop thus prayed for them: Ejusque (Beatæ Mariæ) semper et ubique patrocinia sentiatis, &c.—Gage, *Benedictionale Æthelwoldi*, p. 106.

those who trod its aisles, how warm must have been the love borne towards Mary by the men who built and beautified that church: there might be seen the likeness of the mother of God painted on the wall;[95] (182) or, perhaps wrought all of gold, the image of herself, with her divine Son nestled in her arms, sitting on a silver throne;[96] perhaps, too, hung around the neck of such an image, might be found glistening the string of jewels which some high-born Anglo-Saxon dame had bequeathed in honour of our blessed Lady.[97]

The perpetual virginity of Christ's ever blessed mother was, at all times, loudly maintained by our Anglo-Saxon writers;[98] and any denial, how-

[95] See vol. i. p. 245, n. 2, of the present work.

[96] See vol. i. p. 248, n. 6, of this work. The respect which the Anglo-Saxons paid to the B. V. Mary is still further shown by the fact that among the carvings upon a wooden coffin of the seventh century lately discovered at Durham Cathedral, our blessed Lady, with her divine Son in her arms, may be seen (Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 191). Upon the silver super-altar found (A.D. 1040) lying on the breast of Acca, bishop of Hexham (A.D. 705), there was this inscription: Alme Trinitati . Agie Sophie . Sancte Marie (see vol. i. p. 197, of this work). Many of those beautiful Anglo-Saxon ornaments were stripped of their gold and silver by the first William and his robbing Normans: Abbas (Eliensis) Brithnodus (*c.* A.D. 970) fecit beatarum virginum imagines easque auro et argento gemmisque pretiosissime texuit, et juxta altare duas a dextris et duas a sinistris statuit, quæ et in dedicatione Willielmi regis excrustatæ et quæque miliora ecclesiæ ornamenta ablata sola nuda ligna hactenus valent intueri.—Thomas of Ely (*c.* A.D. 1163), *Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 527.

[97] Page 7, note 8, of this volume.

[98] In primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ memoriam primum sacerdos facit, quia per eam salus nobis omnibus advenit. 'Semper virginis' dicit, quia Maria virgo ante partum et virgo in partu,

ever (183) faint, of such a truth, would have been looked upon, among them, as a heinousness to be loathed like blasphemy itself: their preachers were accustomed to hold forth to their people in words which warned their hearers strongly against falling into so great an error as gainsaying this title of the ever maiden Mary;[99] and their national synods uttered a formal condemnation against those who might possibly do so.[1]

(184) To this virgin-mother, to this queen of the skies, were our Anglo-Saxons accustomed to

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et post partum virgo incorrupta permansit. Genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Ih'u X$\overline{\text{pi}}$: in horum duorum vocabile nom . . . (nomen?) in Dominum et Deum ostendit beatam Mariam Dominum et Deum genuisse et hominem.—*De Ordine Missæ*, MS. Biblioth. Bodl., *Hatton*, 93, fol. 22^{v}, 23.

[99] Fuere hæretici qui propter hoc quod dictum est, 'non cognoscebat eam donec peperit Filium,' crederent Mariam post natum Dominum cognitam esse a Joseph, et inde ortos eos quos fratres Domini Scriptura appellat, assumentes et hoc in adjutorium sui erroris, quod 'primogenitus' nuncupatur Dominus. Avertat Deus hanc blasphemiam a fide omnium nostrum, donetque nobis Catholica pietate intelligere parentes nostri Salvatoris intemerata semper fuisse virginitate præclaros.—St. Beda, *Hom.*, i. 5 [*P.L.*, xciv. 33]. Sed nos, fratres carissimi, absque ullius scrupulo quæstionis scire et confiteri oportet non tantum beatam Dei genitricem, sed et beatissimum castitatis ejus testem atque custodem Joseph ab omni prorsus actione conjugali mansisse immunem.—Ibid., *Hom.*, i. 22 [*P.L.*, *ibid.*, p. 115].

[1] The Anglo-Saxon Church received at the council of Hatfield (held A.D. 680) the decrees of the council of Lateran (A.D. 649); among them is the following:—Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur proprie et secundum veritatem Dei genitricem sanctam semperque virginem et immaculatam Mariam, utpote ipsum Deum verbum specialiter et veraciter, qui a Deo Patre ante omnia secula natus est, in ultimis seculorum absque semine concepisse ex Spiritu Sancto, et incorruptibiliter eam genuisse indissolubiliter permanente et post partum ejusdem virginitate, condemnatus sit.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 53.

breathe forth their wants and holy wishes trustfully in prayer, knowing that she would be the bearer and advocatess of their supplications before the throne of her divine Lord and Son.[2] Amid the thunder-crashings of the fiery storm, or when some scowling evil threatened to overwhelm them, the weak (185) became strong, the faint-hearted suddenly grew bold, at the thought that holy Mary would listen to and pray above for them: ofttimes had they reason to remember with gratitude her wonder-working intercession.[3]

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[2] Fœmina præpollens, et sacra puerpera virgo
Audi clementer populorum vota precantum.

—St. Aldhelm, *Poema de aris B. Mariæ, &c.*, in *Opp.* ed. Giles, p. 118. Another father of the Anglo-Saxon Church thus sang of this queen of the world, as he asked the help of her prayers:—

Auxiliare tuis precibus, pia Virgo Maria,
Æterni Regis famulos, Regina polorum.
Nomine namque tuo quoniam hæc est ara dicata,
Tristia depellens, nobis et prospera donans.
—Alcuin, *Carmen ad aram B. V. Mariæ* [*P.L.*, ci. 757].

Virgo Dei Genitrix, nostræ regina salutis
Hic precibus famulis auxiliare tuis.
Hoc altare tuis quoniam est venerabile votis,
Virginibus sacris laus, decus, atque salus.
—*Ibid.* [771.]

[3] Interea sævit tempestas: . . . Tum populus omnis tanti terroris immanitatem non ferens, ad altare cucurrit, et beatam virginem (Lioba) ab oratione excitat periculis opponendam, primaque Tecla consanguinea ejus his verbis adorsa est: "O dilecta, dilecta, in te spes populi hujus, in te votorum summa consistit. Surge ergo, et pro nobis Dominam tuam sanctam Dei Genitricem invoca, ut ejus intercessione, ab hujus tempestatis discrimine liberemur." Ad hanc vocem illa ab oratione surrexit, et quasi ad colluctationem vocaretur, cappam, qua erat induta, abjiciens, fores ecclesiæ confidenter aperuit: atque in limine consistens, signo sanctæ crucis edito, furenti tempestati nomen

(186) One of the ways which the Anglo-Saxons took for showing how warm a love they bore, and what high honour they yielded, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was by calling upon her so strongly in their public services, as well as at their private devotions, to aid them by her prayers. Sweet St. Mary's name stood foremost, and above that of archangel, apostle, and martyr, supplicated by the Anglo-Saxons in their public litanies;[4] and as he fed his sheep, on Sundays and festivals, with the food of life out of God's Word, in the pulpit, the Anglo-Saxon shepherd loved to tell them of the holiness, the while he bade them ever seek the intercession, of that glorious Virgin:—"Mary," says the Anglo-Saxon homilist, "Mary is more beauteous than the moon, for she shines without decrease of her brightness. She is choice as the sun with beams of holy virtues, for the Lord, who is the sun of righteousness, chose her for his mother. Her course is compared to a martial

summæ majestatis opposuit; extensisque manibus in cœlum, terno clamore Christi clementiam invocavit, et per intercessionem ac merita sanctæ Mariæ Virginis, propitium eum populo suo velociter adesse precabatur. Confestim igitur adest Divinitas, tonitrua conquiescunt, &c.—Rudolf of Fulda (ninth century), *Vita S. Liobæ*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.*, iv. 230. Lioba and Tecla, or Tetta, were Anglo-Saxon mynchens who had gone, by St. Boniface's wish, to Germany, from their monastery at Wimborne.

[4] In the Leofric missal, she is invoked thrice by name in the very short litany which follows the blessing of the palms on Palm Sunday: Christe audi nos, Sancta maria, Sancta maria, Sancta maria, Sancte gabriel, Sancte raphael, Sancte michael, Sancte iacobe, Sancte iohannes, &c.—*Leofric Missal*, 205: so, too, in another Anglo-Saxon litany (see note 82, p. 144.)

band, for she was surrounded with heavenly powers and with companies of angels.

"Of this heavenly queen, it is yet said by the same Spirit of God: 'I saw the beauteous one as (187) a dove mounting above the rills, and an ineffable fragrance exhaled from her garments; and, so as in the spring-tide, blossoms of roses and lilies encircled her.' The blossoms of roses betoken, by their redness, martyrdom: and the lilies, by their whiteness, betoken the shining purity of inviolate maidenhood. Other martyrs suffered martyrdom in their bodies for Christ's faith; but the blessed Mary was not bodily martyred, but her soul was sorely afflicted with great suffering, when she stood sad before Christ's rood, and saw her dear child fastened with iron nails on the hard tree. Therefore is she more than a martyr, for she suffered that martyrdom in her soul which other martyrs suffered in their bodies."[5] "Let us call with constant prayers to the holy mother of God, that she may intercede for us in our necessities with her Son. It is very credible that he will grant much to her, who vouchsafed through her to be born a human being, for the redemption of the world."[6]

It ought to be no small source of holy joy for Englishmen, that from out of this island sprang one of those devotional practices so likely to en-

[5] *Ælfric's Homilies*, i. 445.

[6] *Ibid.*, 453.

kindle a warm and unwaning love for the mother of God, which the Church has always sought to light up towards her, in the hearts of all her children. Our own Alcuin it was who first drew up the votive mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin (188) Mary, and assigned Saturday for its celebration. This very mass we still have, and to this moment the whole Latin Church orders it to be said, every week, on a Saturday, unless the rubric commands another service on that day.[7]

But, although the Anglo-Saxon besought the saints and angels to pray to God for him—although, as we have seen, he looked unto the Blessed Virgin Mary with such glowing affection, he was too well taught[8] not to know that to yield

[7] Postea sanctæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ missam superaddidimus per dies aliquot, si cui placuerit, decantandam. —Alcuin, *Epist. ad Monach. Vedast.* [*P.L.*, c. 215]. Misi chartulam Missalem vobis, O sanctissimi presbyteri, ut habeatis singulis diebus, quibus preces Deo dirigere cuilibet placeat; quando in honorem sanctæ Trinitatis . . . vel quando specialiter beatæ Mariæ genitricis Dei virginis perpetuæ deprecari velit intercessiones.—*Epist. ad Fuldenses* [*P.L.*, c. 385]. In his distribution of masses throughout the week, Alcuin has assigned Saturday as our Lady's mass-day.—*Lib. Sacram.*, § 7 [*P.L.*, ci. 453]; a place which it continues to hold now.

[8] Also it is to be made known to Christian laymen, that every one pray at least twice in the day . . . and these (prayers) being thus done, and his Creator only worshipped, let him call on God's saints, and pray that they intercede for him with God, first on Saint Mary, and afterwards on all God's saints.—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 421. Ye (mass-priests) shall also admonish your parishioners that they sufficiently cultivate prayer . . . then let him pray first to Saint Mary, and the holy apostles and the holy martyrs, and all God's saints, that they intercede for him to God; and then let him arm his head in front with the sign of the holy rood, that is, let him sign himself, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 427.

even to her, the (189) queen of saints, any portion, however small, of that honour and that worship which belong to God alone, would have been a most heinous sin—robbing the Almighty of His glory, and giving to the creature what belongeth to the Creator; in fact—idolatry.

Such chosen and faithful followers of Christ, now dwelling with their Lord in heaven, did the Anglo-Saxon ask to befriend him with their prayers; for he was taught there were two distinct kinds of veneration, one for God, the other for the saints. The Trinity alone should we adore; but we ought to seek the saints as intercessors for our sins. The distinction between these two venerations, he was told to observe, is well set forth in the Litany; for, in the first place, it is said, "Christ, hear us"; and then, "Holy Mary, pray for us"; it is not said, "Christ, pray for us," and "Holy Mary," or, "Holy Peter, hear us"; but, "Christ, hear us," "Son of God, we beseech Thee, hear us."[9]

[9] Alia veneratio est in Deo, alia in Sanctis: solum namque æternum Deum, Patrem scilicet, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, adorare debemus, eique soli sacrificium et preces vel vota persolvere: unde scriptum est: "Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies." Forte aliquis quærit, quomodo conveniat quod hic præcipitur, Domino soli serviendum, Apostoli verbo, qui dicit: "Servite per caritatem invicem?" Sed huic facile linguæ Grecæ, ex qua Scriptura translata est, origo satisfacit, in qua servitus duobus modis ac diversa significatione solet appellari; dicitur latria, dicitur et dulia; sed dulia intelligitur servitus communis, sive Deo, sive homini, sive cuilibet rerum naturæ exhibita; a qua etiam servus, id est, dulos, nomen accepit. Latria autem vocatur servitus illa, quæ soli Divinitatis cultui debita est, neque

(190) In truth, the earliest known document of the Anglo-Saxons as a Christian people, calls upon an (191) apostle;[10] and the writings of their native teachers abound in beautiful addresses to the angels and the (192) saints in heaven, whose intercession they warmly beg of God himself to let them have,[11] and to whose brotherly love they often intrusted their petitions to heaven, when they had anything particular to ask from the Divine goodness. For those Anglo-Saxon scholars, who were the light, at their time, not only of this

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ulli est participanda creaturæ; unde et idolatræ nuncupantur hi, qui vota, preces, et sacrificia, quæ uni Deo debuerant, inpendunt creaturæ. Jubemur ergo per caritatem servire invicem, quod est Grece ΔΥΛΥΩΝ (l. ΔΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ): jubemur uni Deo servire quod est Græce ΛΑΘΡΥΩΝ (l. ΛΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΝ); unde dicitur: "Et illi soli servies," quod Grece ΛΑΘΡΗΥCΥC (l. ΛΑΤΡΕΥΣΕΙΣ). Et iterum: "Nos enim simus circumcisione Spiritui Dei servientes," quod est in Greco latreuontes. Itaque, ut prædiximus, alia veneratio est in Deo, alia in Sanctis. Solam Trinitatem adorare debemus, Sanctos vero intercessores pro peccatis nostris quærere. Unde et ad distinguendas has duas venerationes, optime in Lætania scribitur, in primis namque dicitur, "Christe, audi nos"; ac deinde, "Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis": neque dicitur, Christe ora pro nobis, et Sancta Maria, vel Sancte Petre, audi nos, sed, "Christe, audi nos"; et, "Fili Dei, te rogamus, audi nos."—Theodore, *Liber Pœnitentialis*, cap. xlviii., in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 56.

[10] See note 77, p. 140.

[11] Sancti confessoris tui . . . nos quesumus, Domine, tuere præsidiis, ut ejus semper intercessionibus adjuvemur.

Sancti, Domine, confessoris tui . . . tribue nos supplicationibus foveri, ut cujus depositionem annuo celebramus obsequio, ejus apud te intercessionibus et meritis commendemur.

Adjuva nos, Domine, deprecatione sanctorum tuorum et beati confessoris tui intercessione, Domine, quesumus, ab omni adversitate protegas, cujus hodie debitum sollemnitatis diem cum lætitia spiritali veneramur, ut, quorum festa gerimus, sentiamus auxilium. —*Rit. Ecc. Dunelm.*, p. 98.

island, but of Christendom, most stedfastly believed that the Almighty was often stirred to shower down His blessings and graces upon man through the prayers of the angels, and the saints departed; and they relied with the greatest trust that the Father would more readily vouchsafe to blot out their sins, if those happy spirits above joined them, as they were asking here below forgiveness through the blood of His Son Christ crucified.

Such being the teaching of our Bedas, our Ecgberhts, our Alcuins, and our Ælfrics, in the earlier, let us now hear what, during the latter ages of God's Catholic Church in England, was taught (193) about the saints by our Aelreds, our Pulleynes, our Williams of Malmesbury, our Walsinghams, and our Bromyards.

Holding the self-same belief as the Anglo-Saxons had ever held respecting God's hallows —the saints now in heaven—the Normans taught it with as warm an earnestness, and followed the self-same devotional and liturgical practices while giving utterance to this Catholic doctrine. Our English, like our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, were told that, instantaneously after death, each one's soul was carried to God's tribunal, to be tried for its deeds, good and bad, wrought in this world, and to hear its sentence.[12] One, among other

[12] Verum quidem est quia secundum præsentis vitæ actum quisque moriens portat Dei judicium.—Hugo Archiep. Rotomag.,

ways, of bringing (194) such a wholesome truth more quickly to the people's thoughts, was having the day of judgment, or, as it used to be then called,

THE DOOM,

either painted on the spandrels at the west side of the chancel arch, or stained on the glass of the great window at the western end of the nave, in almost every parish church.[13] According to the

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Dialogi [*P.L.*, excii. 1213]. Hugh was abbot of Reading, c. A.D. 1123. While telling us of a conversation between St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and another Hugh, the sainted abbot of Cluny, Roger of Wendover says: Ubi cum de rege Willelmo (Rufo) inter eos sermo haberetur abbas ille venerabilis archiepiscopo respondens sub testimonio intulit veritatis, Proxima nocte præterita vidi regem illum ante thronum Dei adductum et accusatum et a justo judice damnationis in illum sententiam promulgatam, &c. (Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.*, ed. Coxe, ii. 159) [not given in *R.S.*]. In the glimpse which he was given to have of the other world, during a trance, a yeoman, who lived at Tunsted in Essex, and was called Turchill, said he beheld a place: Ut ibidem omnes animæ in Christo renatæ, mox ut a corpore exierint, absque ulla dæmonum invasione conveniant et judicium secundum opera sua recipiant (*ibid.*, iii. 192) [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. ii. 18]. John Bromyard says: Divinum judicium est duplex, unum particulare quod singulariter de quocunque fit quando moritur . . . aliud generale quod in fine erit omnibus simul congregatis.—*Summa Prædicantium*, p. 430. The ankress of Norwich speaks thus:—Then said I to them that were about me, "It is to-day, dooms-day with me." And this I said, for I thought to have died: for that day that a man dieth, he is judged as shall be without end, as to mine understanding.—*Revelations of Divine Love made to Mother Juliana, &c.*, p. 19, ed. Warrack, 1901.

[13] Henry III. (A.D. 1250) issued an order to Edward of Westminster, for painting the figures of the apostles around the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and at its western end the day of judgment (*Rot. Claus.*, 34 Hen. III., n. 7). The "Dome," or Last Judgment, is shown in late but beautiful Flemish stained

DOOM AT ST. THOMAS'S, SALISBURY

(195) well-understood symbolism of those ages, the western sky, the place of sunset,—the grave, as it were, of sinking day, that, though it seem dead to us, goes down to live and shine in other and unseen lands,—became an emblem to mean the end of this world's time, the death of all created things. To tell therefore each one that his life here, though as lengthy and as lingering as the day at summer-tide, must come to its setting hour, when the undying soul would have to speed forth unto another world, and undergo a sifting trial, there was figured this awe-awakening "doom"; and in such a situation, that, while going into or coming out of the church, the eye must needs look upon the picture, and read its fearful warnings.

For a like holy purpose might often be seen figured, as in our wood-cut, [see over-leaf]

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glass at Fairford, and outside on the great western door at Bloxham: it is painted in *secco*, over the western side of the great arch, between the nave and chancel, in St. Michael's, Coventry, and the church dedicated to the same archangel at Mitcheldean; also in St. Thomas's, Salisbury. This "day of doom" was figured either on the western face of the chancel arch, or in the great west-end window, of most, if not all, of our old churches; and if we do not see it there still, speaking to us its awful truths, the reason is, the painting was either scraped off, or white-washed, at the change of religion: among the manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a "Letter to the churchwardens of a parish, to take down their roode-loft and superstitious (?) dome," A.D. 1572.—Nasmith, *Catal.*, p. 237.

The Weighing of the Soul[14]

immediately after death. St. Michael the archangel (196) holds the sanctuary's golden balance, in one scale of which is shown the quaking soul,

From two wall-paintings, both done in the fourteenth century, one in Islip church, the other in the neighbouring church of Beckley, Oxon.

[14] In Turchill's recital of the vision he had of the next world, especial notice is taken of this weighing of the good and bad deeds done while the soul was in the flesh; and the chapter headed "De ponderatione bonorum et malorum" gives the following description of it:—Quædam vero libra, æqua lance dependens, affixa erat super murum inter apostolum et diabolum cujus pars media dependebat ante conspectum diaboli exterius; habebat itaque apostolus duo pondera, majus et minus, omnino nitida et quasi aurea. . . . Accesserunt ergo animæ ex toto nigræ cum magno timore et trepidatione, una post alteram, singulæ ponderationem operum suorum ibidem visuræ bonorum et malorum; nam pondera prædicta ponderabant singularum opera animarum, secundum quod fecerant bonum sive malum. Cum ergo statera se versus apostolum inclinaret per suorum librationem ponderum, tollebat apostolus animam illam et introduxit eam per portam orientalem, quæ conjuncta erat basilicæ, in ignem purgatorium, ut illic crimina expiaret; cum vero pars stateræ ad diabolum se

with its few good (197) deeds; within the other are all its sins, which the devil, under the shape of a horned hairy beast, (198) strives to make heavier, as he pulls at the beam, to make it lean towards his side. At the other end we behold the Blessed Virgin Mary, befriending, by her prayers to heaven, the poor forlorn sinner under trial, and in whose behalf she triumphs, as she withstands the wicked one; for, by casting her rosary upon the balance, she turns it, and so wins a soul from Satan and for heaven. While by her rosary

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inclinaret et præponderaret, mox ille cum satellitibus suis animam miseram nimis ejulantem . . . rapientes cum multo cachinno præcipitabant in foveam profundam et flammivoram, quæ secus pedes diaboli librantis erat. De hujusmodi libratione bonorum et malorum in sanctorum patrum scriptis sæpius reperitur (Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.*, ed. Coxe, iii. 196) [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. ii. 22, 23]. The weighing of the soul is often spoken of in our old national literature: ¶ There was a man ye whiche was rauysshed in Jugement tofore God, for he had moche synned. And the devyll was there and sayd, ye have no thynge on this soule but it ought for to be myn, for I have therof an instrumente publycke, and by the ryght of this instrument publyke he oughte to be juged to me. And thenne our Lorde sayd, late the man speke, but the man spake not. And the devyl sayd yet agayne, the soule is myne, for yf he hathe done ony good dedes ye wycked dedes passeth the good withoute comparyson. . . . And our Lord sayd, brynge forthe the balaunce, and late all the good and evyl be weyed, and than veryte and ryghtwysnes sayd to the synner, renne with all thy thoughte to the Lady of mercye whiche sytteth by the Juge, and studye to call her to thy helpe, and whan he had so done, the blessyd vyrgyne Marye came to his helpe, and layde her hande upon the balaunce on ye syde where as were but few good dedes, and the devyl enforced hym to draw on ye other syde, but the moder of mercy wanne and obteyned, and delyvered the synner. And thenne he came agayne to hymself and amended his lyfe.—*Y^e^ Golden Legend*, imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, 1527, fol. ccxx.

—that well-known string of beads[15]—this queen of saints, Mary, the virgin, the holy, the spotless Mary, reminds her Lord, her Saviour, and her Son Christ of His birth, His death, His rising from the grave, His going up to heaven, she beseeches Him through all and each of those mysterious doings of His love towards His creature man, to forgive that poor soul its sins, and wash its stains away in His own all-cleansing blood. Only through this same precious pardoning grace-bestowing blood of our Divine Redeemer can the faithful in this world earn for themselves, to be enjoyed in the next,

The Merit of Good Works.

As there have been, so till time itself be done there ever will be, in Christ's one holy Church on earth, some saints, some happy beings, for whom the grave is but a gate that leads immediately to heaven. Not trusting to their own strength, they (199) willingly arm themselves with all those graces so freely bestowed upon us from above. Emboldened by such helps, they wrestle with and worst deadly sin in all its shapes. If, while walking through this world's slippery winding paths, it happen with them, in some watchless moment, that they stumble; like children crying

[15] The "beads," or rosary, and its kind of prayer, will be explained a little further on.

to their father, they call upon God to lift them up again, and as they get once more on their feet, they bid the heart to weep its tears of sorrow, and make them flow upon the stain with which their fall may have blotted their baptismal garment, and thus bring back to that robe its first unspotted whiteness. Aware, moreover, that the tree can be known only by the fruit it yields, those who are striving to be Saints, now think—as Saints have always thought—it not enough to keep themselves guiltless of sin, but they try, with God's help, to bring forth good works: they do their best to hallow their Divine Master's name by fastings, and prayers, and other deeds of holiness; and they show their love, by proving their kindness toward their fellow-man, through the alms, the endowments, and the many kinds of things wrought by them for his ghostly, no less than bodily wants. By means like these, the Saints of every age have ever laid, and those living still lay up to themselves treasures in heaven.[16] The trial of such bright souls is sure

[16] Peirs Plouhman lays a heavy stress upon the doing of all kinds of good works in order to win the kingdom of heaven, while he says :—

> Ac vnder his secre seel·treuthe sente [hem] a lettere
> And bad [hem] bygge baldly·what [hem] best lykede
> And sitthen sellen hit a-ȝeyn·and saue þe wynnynges
> Amenden *meson-dieux* þer with·and myseyse men fynde
> And wikkede weyes·with here good amende,
> And brygges to-broke·by þe heye weyes
> Amende in som manere wise·and maydenes helpen;
> Poure puple bedreden·and prisones in stockes

to (200) be followed by that gladsome call to the fellowship of angels, and the beatific presence of

> Fynde hem for Godes loue·and fauntekynes to scole;
> Releue religion·and renten hem bettere; &c.

—*Visio William de Peirs Plouhman, Passus* x. 26–36 [ed. Skeat, 1873, p. 159]. What the poet sang, the preacher said in stronger words: "Ryght he (God) wyll that men be uncertayne of theyr frendis whan they bene deade, in what state that they bene, for that they shoulde alwaye be besye to helpe theyr sowles with masses syngynge, almes doinge, with beades byddyng, and other good dedes, not onely for helpe of hym, but of other that haue lyttell helpe or none. Also for encreacyng of their owne mede. For who soo that trauayleth well for an other trauaylethe best for hym selfe."—*Dives and Pauper, the Fyrste Command*, cap. xl., London, Berthelet, 1536. 12mo. While reasoning upon good and evil, the writer of the above valuable "Dialogue" says with great truth:—"For there is no man worthy to be punyshed for a synne that he may not flee, ne worthy to be rewarded for a good dede that he may not leaue. But for that man dothe well, whan he myght do amysse, he is worthy to be rewarded. And for that he dothe euyll, whan he myghte do well, and leaue his mysdede t wyl not, he is worthy moche peyne."—*Ibid.*, xxv. fol. 39. "Medeful" is a word which he often applies to good works.

In no one corner of Christendom was what religion taught about good works, so beautifully shown, or the doings which followed from that doctrine carried out with so much splendour and munificence as in England. By far the greater number of those fine rich colleges and halls in Oxford and Cambridge, all our old cathedral, collegiate, and most part of our parish churches were begun, built, and endowed with their broad acres, by our Catholic forerunners, and all through the Catholic teaching of good works. Under the same religious feelings they founded hospitals, collected books into libraries, threw causeways over swamps, spanned streams with bridges, and with the widest love for their fellowmen bestowed upon this country some of its best, because most useful, public works. Noticing at Plympton, the "grete causey of stone, having an archid bridge at eche ende of it:" running across the low salt marsh there, Leland tells us how a "merchaunt of London caullid Stawford chaunced to be at Berstaple to by cloth, and saw a woman ryding to com over; and the tyde cam so sore yn, that she could not passe; and crying for help, no man durst cum to her, and so she was drownid. Then Stawford toke the

God—"Well (201) done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord:" for

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prior of Berstaple a certen summe of money to begyn this causey chekid on eche side and the bridgges, and after payid for the performing of it" (*Itin.*, ii. 75). The bridge at Bedeford upon Turege is a very notable worke, and hathe xxiiij. arches of stone, &c. A poore preste began thys bridge; and, as it is saide, he was animatid so to do by a vision. Then al the cuntery about sette their handes onto the performing of it; and sins landes hath be gyven to the maintenaunce of it. Ther standith a fair chapelle of our Lady *trans pontem* at the very ende of it, and there is a fraternite in the toun for preservation of this bridge: and one waitith continually to kepe the bridge clene from al ordure.—*Ibid.*, 76.

One Lovebone, vicar of Wadebridge, movid with pitie, began the bridge, and with great paine and studie, good people putting their help therto, finished it with xvij fair and great uniforme arches of stone.—*Ibid.*, 82.

One Cloptun, a great rich marchant and mayr of London, having never wife nor childern, convertid a great peace of his substance in good workes in Stratford, first making a sumptuus new bridge and large of stone, wher in the midle be a vi. great arches for the maine streame of Avon, and at eche ende certen smaul arches to bere the causey, and so to passe commodiusly. The same Cloptun made in the midle of the towne a right fair and large chapelle, enduing it with 50 li. landė, by the yere, wher as v prestes doth syng. And to this chapel longgith a solemne fraternite. And at such tyme as needeth the goodes of this fraternite helpith the commune charges of the towne in tyme of necessite (*ibid.*, iv. 27) Johannes Rous, capellanus cantuariæ de Guy-cliffe qui super porticum australem librariam construxit, et libris ornavit (*ibid.*, 61). There is a grammer-schoole on the south syde of this chappell (of the Trinity), of the foundation of one Jolepe, borne in Stratford, whereabout he had some patrimony, and that he gave to this schoole. There is alsoe an almes-house of 10 poore folkes at the south syde of the chappell of the Trinitye, maintained by a fraternity of the Holy Crosse (*ibid.*, 67). Abbot William made the east ende of the church (of Winchecombe). The parishoners had gathered a £200, and began the body of the church; but that summe not being able to performe soe costly a worke, Rofe Boteler Lord Sudeley helped them and finished the worke (*ibid.*, 72). On the southe syde of the chaunsell of S James's church in Brakeley is a faire chapell or isle, and there be in the wyndow sydes in stone imagis beringe woll sakks in

The Souls of the Saints go to Heaven Immediately after Death.

(202) So were our forefathers taught; so did they believe;[17] and holding, as they did, the one same

theyr hands, in token that it was of the stapelers makyng (*ibid.*, vii. 5). A cardinale and archebisshope of Cantorbyri gave a 1000 markes or li. to the erectynge of London bridge (*ibid.*, 11). A mason beinge master of the bridge house, buildyd the chapell on London bridge, a fundamentis propriis impensis (*ibid.*). Syr Thomas Countre, parsone of Ingestre, and Sir Randol, a chauntre preste of Stafford, made S. Cedde steple, a fair square tour, and the belles of Stafford toun (*ibid.*, 24). John of St. Helen's was the first beginner of Burford bridge, to the maintenance of which, and of the hospital of St. Helen's that he had founded, he left an estate in land of 50 pounds a year. Geffry Barbour was the principal founder of Culham bridge, toward which, and to the finishing of Burford bridge, and to the making of the fine causey between both bridges, he gave 1000 marks (*ibid.*, 71).

The seven works of mercy corporal are figured in one of the stained-glass windows, Geystwick (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, viii. 219). The stripling head of the Protestant Establishment, Edward VI., could not help acknowledging the merits of good works—"Knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation: and that also, whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him, that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life."—*Injunctions*, in Wilkins, *Conc.*, iv. 7.

[17] That the souls of the good are carried to heaven instantly after death, is a truth expressed repeatedly in our old literature: Decebat nimirum Beatum Cuthbertum aliquid spiritualiter agere cujus spiritum cum Deo in cœlestibus hereditarie pacis eternæ gloriam novimus possidere.—Reginald of Durham, *De Admirand. B. Cuthberti Virtut.*, p. 41. Of Matilda, St. Margaret's daughter, and Henry I.'s wife, or, as our countrymen a long while loved to call her, "Molde the good Quene" (Thomas Rudborne, *Hist. Minor.*, in Wharton, *Anglia Sac.*, i. 276), Roger of Wendover says: Obiit Matildis regina Anglorum, cujus corpus apud Westmonasterium quietem sepulturæ accepit, et anima ejus se cœlum possidere evidentibus signis et miraculis crebris ostendit (*Flores Hist.*, ii. 194)

(203) faith that the ancient Fathers held, our countrymen drew for this, as they could draw for any other (204) article of their creed, many an exposition from the writings of those venerable witnesses of the olden times.

"¶ It is to be knowen, as saynt Austyn sayeth, that al they that departe out of this worlde, or (205) they ben ryght good or ryght euyll or bytwene both. . . . And they y^t^ ben ryght good: be'en they that anone flee to heuen, and ben quyte of the fyre of purgatorye, ℈ of helle also. And ther ben thre maner of people, y^t^ been chyldren baptysed, martyres ℈ parfyght men. Thyse ben they that parfyghtely mayntenyd the loue of God, the loue of his neyghbour and good werkys. And thoughte neuer to plese the worlde. But to God only, ℈ yf they hadde done ony venyall synne, it was put anone aweye by ye loue of charyte, lyke a drope of water in a fornays, and therfore they bere no thynge with theym that oughte to be brent. And who y^t^ prayeth for ony of thyse thre maner people, or doth ony suffrages for theym, he dothe to them wronge.

"¶ And to thyse maner people is the heven anone open whan they departe. Ne they fele no fyre of purgatorye, ℈ this is sygnefyed to us by

[not in *R.S.*]. While sorrowing over the death of Simon de Montfort, killed at the battle of Evesham, the minstrel tells us how :—

> Sire Simoun, ly prodhom, e sa compagnie,
> En joie vont en ciel amount, en pardurable vie.

—*Political Songs of England*, ed. Wright, p. 127.

the thre to whome ye heven was opened. It was fyrst opened to Jhesu Cryst whan he was baptysed and prayenge, by whiche is sygnefyed that the heven is open to them that ben baptysed, bothe yonge or aged yf they deye : anone they flee in to heuen, for baptysme is clensyinge of all orygenall synne and mortall by the vertue of ye passyon of Jhesu Cryste.

"¶ Secondly, it was opened to Saynt Stephen whan he was stoned, wherof it is sayed in thactes of thappostles, I see the heuens open ; and in this is sygnefyed y^t^ it is open to al martirs. And they fle anone to heuen as soone as they departe.

"¶ Thyrdely, it is opened to saynte Johan the (206) euangelist, whiche was ryght perfyte, wherof it is sayd in thapocalypse, I behelde, and lo the dore was open in heuen ; by whiche it appereth that it is opened unto parfyte men, that haue all accōplysed theyr penaunce, and haue in theym no venyal synne, or yf ony happen to be commysed, anone it is consumed, and extyncte by ye ardoure and charyte. And thus heuen is open to these thre manere of people which entre lyghtly in for to regne perpetuelly." [18]

Besides being laid down so clearly in books of religious teaching, this same truth is put forward in all the lighter writings of our early literature : that all those who had been listening to his

[18] *Y^e^ Golden Legend*, fol. cccix. London, Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. 1527.

strains might, at death, be carried straight up to heaven by angels, was the wish with which an old English minstrel would often end his song.[19]

To win this cloudless happiness, it was needful to live a life harmless of evil, and fruitful of good works. Left by himself, man can do neither; strength and help must be sent down to him from (207) above. Of those several means which a bountiful God has vouchsafed to employ for upholding them, one is to lend His children spirits from the skies. All this our forefathers were well taught to understand; and the English, like the Anglo-Saxons, believed that, besides the whole of Christ's Church on earth being overseen especially by St. Michael,[20]

[19] The following, or such like verses, are the last words in many of our metrical tales :—

> All that hath herde this talkyng,
> Lytill, moche, old, and yyng,
> Y blyssyd mote they be :
> God yeue hem grace whan they shal ende
> To heuyn blys here sowles wend
> With angelys bryght of ble.

—*Syr Gowghter*, in *Early Pop. Poetry*, ed. Utterson, i. 190.

[20] He (St. Michael) was prynce of the Synagoge of the Jewes, but now he is establyssed of our Lorde prynce of the chyrche of Ihesu Christe (*Y^e Golden Legend*, fol. cclxviii). Long before the Golden Legend was written, our countryman Robert Pulleyne had put forth the same opinion in his "Sentences": Nam in Daniele legimus Michaelem principem populi, scilicet Judæorum . . . sed et post et per crucem Domini, dux populo Dei suo cum exercitu de non gente ad gentem Dei, de perfidia Judæorum ad conversionem gentium migrasse creditur.—Robert Pulleyne, *Sentent.*, p. 194 [*P.L.*, clxxxvi. 881].

To Each One is given an Angel Guardian, to be his guide, his defender, his friend—to wake, and think, and pray for him—to carry his supplications unto God—to walk with him in all his ways—to overshadow him with the wings of heaven's protection, both day and night—to be a witness of his thoughts, his speech, his deeds, gladdened by what is holy, made sad at what is evil in them.[21]

[21] Certa res est, dum animæ peregrinantur in corpore, singulas singulis angelis deputatas . . . qui dum commissos sibi custodiunt, ipsos et a malis defendunt, et in bonis adjuvant (*ibid.*). Sicut autem omnis anima, ita et omnia regna custodiis angelorum mancipata creduntur (*ibid.*). Another of our native writers, John Bromyard, says:—Tertius (ordo) est angelorum qui deputantur ad custodiam singularis personæ ad modum custodis unius loci. De istis Hieronymus super Matthæum lib. 3. Magna (inquit) est dignitas animarum ut unaquæque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in custodiam sui angelum deputatum, &c. (*Summa Prædicantium, Part. Prim.*, xxii. 60). The same doctrine was spoken to the people from the pulpit: a preacher, at the beginning of the xiii century, told his hearers that "We radeð on boc ϸ elch man haveð to fere on engel of hevene on his riht half, ϸ him wisseð 7 munegeð evre to don god," &c. (*Reliquiæ Ant.*, i. 131). Of the archangel, Pulleyne says:—Ipsum Michaelem) quoque cum suis, ac præcipue proprium cujusque angelum proprias cujusque preces puto perferre ante tribunal judicis; non quod absque eorum ministerio sanctorum desideria ignoraret, verum quod obsequi gaudent auctori, prodesse homini, dum preces nostras cœlicolis annunciant, ac pro nobis apud Deum interpellant.—Robert Pulleyne, *Sentent.*, pp. 195, 196 [*P.L.*, clxxxvi. 883].

In his answer to the question of *Dives*, "why ben aungelles paynted in lykenes of yonge men, sythe they be spirites and haue no bodies?" *Pauper*, among other things, says:—"Also somtyme they be painted armed with speare, swerde, and shielde, in token that they ben redye to defende us fro the fendes that bene besye nyghte and daye to lese us. For but if holy aungels holpen us

(208) If all through life, still more so at the awful hour of death, did our fathers hope that Christ would (209) have their souls in His holy keeping, by His angels' aid. Wholly trusting in, they besought His kindness to send down, Michael and his fellow-angels to bear their fleeting souls from earth to heaven.[22] The advice of one of our old Catholic writers is that—"We oughte for to gyve honoure to the holy companye of aungelles, and to praye theym for to kepe us in this wretched lyfe from our enemyes the devyll, the worlde, and the flesshe, that after whan we shall departe they presente our soules unto Almighty God in heven, there to dwelle and abyde sempyternally wyth them."[23] These, and other such hallowed sentiments, naturally flowed from the Church's teaching in her public service,[24] and spread (210) them-

and defende us, ꝑt kept us lettyng the fendes malyce, we myght not withstond ne be saued. And therfore right as euery man ꝑt woman hath a wycked angell assigned to hym by the fende to tempt him: so hath he a good aungell assigned to hym of God, to saue hym, yf he wyll folowe his rule."—*Dives and Pauper, The Fyrste Command.*, cap. viii. fol. 19.

[22] Ipsi (Michaeli) enim data est potestas super animas sanctorum, ut eas perducat in paradisum exsultationis (Robert Pulleyne, *Sentent.*, p. 195) [*P.L.*, clxxxvi. 883]. Talking of angels' ministrations towards men, Bromyard says:—Tertius actus est perficere, quod fit dupliciter. Primo orationes nostras et opera bona Deo præsentando, sicut advocatus causam coram judice (*Tob.*, 12). "Quando orabas cum lacrymis et sepeliebas mortuos, . . . ego obtuli orationem tuam Domino." Secundo animas in fine in cœlum deportando sicut servus invitatos ad nuptias deducendo.—*Summa Prædicantium, Parte prima*, p. 61.

[23] *Ye Golden Legend*, fol. cclxxiiᵛ.

[24] The belief that God's angels, more particularly St. Michael, came down to fetch the soul of every good Christian at the time

selves, as they should, over the thoughts, amid the writings, and through the daily speech of our countrymen. Whether, therefore, an individual strung his words together in rhyme during the sunniness and mid-day of life,[25] or at its evening tide sat down, sick and sad, to make his dying will, he spoke of his hopes that God's angels would come for his soul at its forth-going.[26] At the death of (211) some among the most beloved, because most loving, of His children, the Almighty is said to have allowed His Ministers' presence to become known upon earth. At times, though

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of death, is set forth in more than one passage of the Sarum liturgy: the *Missal*, at the mass for the dead, has these words in the offertory: Signifer sanctus Michael repræsentet eas (animas defunctorum) in lucem sanctam, &c. [ed. Dickinson, ii. 867*]: and by the *Manual*, the priest, while ministering to the dying, had to pray thus: Domine sancte . . . clementiam tuam deposcimus, ut animam famuli tui N. ad te revertentem cum pietate suscipias; assit ei angelus testamenti tui Michael, et per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum in sinu Abrahæ patriarche tui eam collocare digneris, &c. [See *York Manual* (Surt. Soc.), p. 55.]

[25] The writer of Peirs Plouhman makes Truth say to the man who has spent his life in good works, that at his death:—

> "And ich shal sende ȝow my-selue·Seynt Michel myn Angel
> That no deuel shal ȝow dere·ne despeir in ȝoure deyinge
> And sende ȝoure soules·þer ich my-self dwelle
> And þere a-byde body and soule·in blisse for euere."

—*Visio William de Peirs Plouhman*, *Passus* x. 37–40 [ed. Skeat, p. 160].

[26] In his will (dated A.D. 1428), John Pigot speaks thus: In primis lego mediantibus B. Petro et Sancto Wilfrido, ac omnibus Sanctis, animam meam, in conductu beatissimæ matris Jesu Christi, et in custodia sanctorum Michaelis et angeli custodis michi misericorditer deputati, presentari disposicioni, pietati, ac immensæ bonitati Conditoris ac Redemptoris mei, &c.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 416.

few and far between, unto living eyes has it been given to behold a band of angels lighting up the skies, as they flew and wafted heavenward the good man's soul, glistening like a ball of clearest crystal,[27] or veiled within that cloud of brightness which the beams from their own wings threw about it:[28] living ears have heard those (212) gladsome strains of the angelic choir, and were spoiled for this world's music after drinking in the sweetness of that celestial song.[29] Our forefathers'

[27] Thus is it that St. Godric, the hermit of Finchale, describes the form of a happy soul which he saw take its flight heavenward: Animam, inquit, istius de qua perquiris, in similitudinem cujusdam venti arentis vidi et fervidi, quasi undique in rotundo schemate in spherica corporis similitudine regirantis. Species vero quæ sub tali forma comparuit instar vitri lucidissimi splendidissima tota refulsit, quam candor nimius inexplicabili albore coruscus undique totam obduxerat.—Reginald of Durham, *De Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 51.

[28] Speaking of the holy people who had lately died, one at Durham, the other at Hastings, St. Godric says:—Quorum spiritus utrique a ministris angelicis suscepti, istis videntibus oculis, ad gaudia cœlestia sunt translati. Nempe sæpius evenit ut qui paris meriti fuerant coram Domino, licet de diversis regionibus asciti, eadem pariter hora, pari sorte perpetuandi corona, transferantur ex hoc mundo. Nam angelis in tale ministerium missis, spatia locorum nihil obstando præpediunt; quia in momento et ictu oculi in diversis regionibus hora eadem Dei præcepta perficiunt. Et nunc utrique spiritus illorum cum choris angelicis perpetua felicitate lætantur, ubi, donati mercede æterna, cum Domino in cœlestibus gloriantur.—Reginald of Durham, *De Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 174. In his description of the death of Edward III.'s queen, Philippa, Froissart says:—Soon after the good lady made the sign of the cross on her breast, and gave up her spirit, which I firmly believe was caught by the holy angels and carried to the glory of Heaven, for she had never done anything, by thought or deed, that could endanger her losing it.—*Chronicles*, translated by Johnes, i. 428.

[29] Eadem etiam hora qua spiritus viri Dei (Godrici) ad cœlestia conscendit, puella quædam parvula de vicina villula Neutune

(213) belief upon this point is set forth in many a beautiful work which, notwithstanding the smashing hammer and the daubing brushes of ruthless fanatics, the arts of the Middle Ages have happily bequeathed to us. Sculpture strove with painting which should speak it best, and both of them have left examples wherein we may behold angels

A SOUL BEING BORNE BY ANGELS

winging their flight from earth to heaven, and bearing along with them the soul just breathed from out the body.[30]

vocata, dum ad pascua nemorum cum ovibus prodiit, cantilenas vocum multarum dulcimodas in aera dulciflue resonantes audivit ; quas avidius aure interiori prosequens, paulatim comperit ad superiora conscendere, ac de Finchale prodeuntes minutim vocum claritudinem, sonoritudinem ac dulcedinem subtrahendo per supera diminuere. Erant nimirum supernorum voces civium, qui animam viri Dei ad cœlestia perducebant, et in tympano et choro et organorum modulo mellifluo, illius transitum et exitum circumvallantes, usque ad sedem gloriæ perlustrabant.—*De Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 331.

(214) That the Saints whose souls are now in heaven, do not and never will forget their fellow-men on earth, but while thinking of, will pray for them to God, was a part of our national belief: in fact,

The Intercession of Saints

had ever been looked upon as one among the articles of her Christian faith by England, from

[30] In all these representations the soul is always shadowed forth to our eyes under the likeness of a little child quite naked, standing upright with raised hands, and from the waist downwards muffled in a sheet—so white and thin it seems a cloud—the folds of which two angels are holding in their hands, as they carry their ghostly burden heavenward. Most illuminated books of "Hours" have this subject figured at the beginning of the prayers called the "Commendationes Animarum": in one manuscript—written and limned by an English hand, sometime about the end of the fourteenth century, and now in my possession—a soul is thus being borne by two angels, one clothed in green, the other in scarlet long-flowing garments, from this world, represented by the grass-covered earth, upwards to the blue-studded heavens, in the midst of which is the Almighty, holding a globe in the left, and bestowing his blessing with his outstretched right hand.

During the ages of faith, angels, being the ministers of God, were represented in the paintings and carvings of our churches and the illuminations of our manuscripts, as clothed in the alb and stole of the sacred liturgy, besides being winged. The symbolism of this is explained to us by the author of *Dives and Pauper*, who says:—"Also they (aungelles) ben paynted with stoles about their neckes, in token that they be alway redy to serue Godde and manne at Goddes byddynge. And therfore they ben called *Administratorii spiritus*. That is to say, spirites of seruice (*Heb.* 1). For they serue God, in rulyng of mankynde and gouernaunce of this worlde. They ben paynted fethered and with wynges, in token of lyghtnes and deliuerenes in her werkes. For in a twinclynge of an eye, they maye be in heuen and in erthe, here and at Rome, and at Jerusalem" (fol. 18^{v}). At the present time, when art partakes so much of paganism, God's holy angels are figured as naked fat boys or heathenish cupids.

the day she cast aside her heathenism till that unhappy hour, in the sixteenth century, when she cut herself off from God's one Church by changing her religion.

As much after as before the coming of the Normans, this country showed, by her various pious practices, and the religious usages of her people,[31] by her (215) devotional exercises, her pious foundations, and all her rubrical arrangements, how sure she felt that the saints above were making intercession for her and hers, and how highly she esteemed such a pledge of their abiding love. In all our old service-books—be they churchmen's missals, breviaries, or processionals, or "hours" and primers for layfolks—whether after Salisbury, York, or any other English use, we find the Intercession of Saints and Angels put forward in a conspicuous way. This, too, is discernible in the foundation-deeds

[31] The following extract will show us the way in which the people were warned of that reverential feeling and awe they ought to take with them for God's house whenever they went thither; how heart and voice should be uplifted to Him while they stayed beneath His Church's roof; and how its titulary saint was to be invoked there by them: At tu a modo procurato, ut more ordinario, Christianis omnibus instituto, quotiens ecclesiam ingressurus ad hostium veneris, fixis in terram genibus, devotissime prius limina, et postea et hostia deosculeris, et deinde digitis ita tribus dexteræ protensis, semper sacrosanctæ crucis vexillo introitum tuum præmunire memineris. . . . Et quam diu infra septa ecclesiarum fueris, semper jugi meditatione, ore et voce, ad Dominum intendas, et Sanctum illum, in cujus nomine locus ille sacratus fuerit, interpellare non desinas; omniaque meditationum incestarum inquinamenta penitus a corde tuo removeas.—Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virtutibus*, p. 258.

of our old colleges and hospitals, as well as in those bequests at any time made to churches and pious institutions. It is to be seen in those public documents written to the faithful by the bishops, as they called upon (216) them to do works of holiness and repentance.[32] Our kings,

[32] In the preamble to an indulgence of forty days, which Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, granted (A.D. 1334) to all those who, truly contrite and having confessed their sins, should visit Durham Cathedral, we perceive the sound way in which the doctrine of the Church regarding the Intercession of Saints is noticed: Cum ad promerenda sempiterna gaudia, Sanctorum sint nobis suffragia plurimum opportuna, loca Sanctorum omnium pia sunt devotione fidelium veneranda, ut dum Dei veneramur amicos ipsi nos amicabiles Deo reddant, et illorum quodammodo vindicando patrocinium apud Deum quod merita nostra non obtinent eorum mereamur intercessionibus obtinere (Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 104). Many long years before the birth in this land of Protestantism, its objections were by anticipation answered by abbot Hugh, thus:—

INT. Quid dicis? Numquid invocantibus nobis per tam diversa terrarum spatia disjunctis sub eodem momento præsentes (Sancti) sunt? Quomodo hoc possunt qui ubique non sunt?

RESP. Verum est plane, quia Deus solus essentialiter est ubique. Sancti vero, qui in summa pace in ipso vivunt, et nobis caritate non desunt, sua quidem essentia ubique non sunt; sed hoc constat manifestum quia eorum beneficia sub eodem tempore per diversa terrarum spatia fidelibus adsunt. . . . Johannes quidem dicit: *Similes Deo erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est* (1 Johan. iii. 2). Videntes itaque Videntem omnia quid non videbunt? Scientes Scientem omnia quid ignorabunt? . . . Merito ergo ecclesia ubique terrarum diffusa ad eos suis in necessitatibus clamat, cum se ubique ab eis audiri cognoscat, et eos sibi adesse patrocinando sentiat: quos dum veneratur et amat, in sanctis Sanctum qui sanctos fecit honorat et colit et prædicat, &c.—*Dialogi* [*P.L.*, cxcii. 1222]. Hugh was the first abbot of Reading, A.D. 1123. How wayward is error: often among those who stray from the Church's fold, some like to follow the Church's teachings after their own fashion. Deeming so very well of herself as to think she would go after death straight to heaven, and find her husband there, Lady Jane Grey, all Protestant as she was, told her father,

—a Richard, whose hand was as strong (217) to strike as his heart was unquailing when he met his foeman,—our Edwards and Henries; our warriors, whose names are synonymous with hardihood, trusted, after God, on the Saints' intercession with Him in their behalf, to come out of the perils of the fight unharmed and conquerors.[33] When the fields (218) were gaping after months of drought, and the crops had everywhere been scorched up by cloudless sunshine, our churchmen would walk in procession with their people, singing the litanies, and carry on their shoulders the enshrined relics of their patron saint, whose intercession, they trusted, might bend God to listen to their united supplications. Often, very often, was the strength of such entreaties shown: a little tiny speck that,

in a note written by her own hand in her prayer-book, now among the manuscripts at the British Museum (*Harl.* 2342), that she would, in the other world, pray—that is, intercede—for him:—And I, for my parte, as I haue honoured youre Grace in this life, wyll praye for you in another life. Your Gracys humble daughter Jane Duddeley.

[33] While speaking of those feelings of reverence towards religion so deeply rooted in the breast of Richard I., Wendover says: Hæc et his similia virtutum opera regem nostrum Richardum coram summo Deo reddiderant gloriosum, unde nunc merito, cum venisset tempus miserendi Dei, de locis, ut credimus, pœnalibus translatus est ad regna sine fine mansura, ubi militi reposita est a rege Christo, cui fideliter servivit, corona justitiæ, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se. Gaudent de ejus societate sancti illi, quorum sanctas redemit reliquias a Salaadino in terra promissionis pro quinquaginta duobus bizantiorum millibus, pacto interposito cum eisdem sanctis, ut apud Deum in suprema necessitate sua suis eum intercessionibus adjuvarent.—Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.*, iv. 239, 240 [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. iii. 26, 27].

just after the solemn array had gone forth, was seen to dot the hard, sunny sky, spread itself out to a wide black watery cloud, that spilt its shower upon the praying throng, and drenched it before it could hurry back to the church, and take shelter from the welcome rain.[34] (219) If the English soldier chose St. George, the Welshman took St. Margaret for his befriending saint in the battle-storm;[35] and the English Cistercian monk sought and got, from the competent authorities, leave to show how deeply he valued the

[34] Quodam namque tempore, intemperati solis ardor tantus terræ superficiem torrebat tantaque siccitas aëris imminebat ut fructuum segetumque species omnes pene frustrarentur; quidam viri religiosi Eboracensis ecclesiæ canonici, communi fratrum dêvotione ad impetranda B. Joannis sæpius probata suffragia Beverlacum venerunt, ut illius meritis perurgente propulsa calamitate, luctuosa cunctorum querimonia commune verteretur in gaudium. Et quoniam sancti pontificis dies solennis instabat affectu supplici rogant et rogando benigne collaudant ut beati viri corpus circa ecclesiam, licet tali die non consuevissent, honore debito deferretur. . . . Præparatis igitur omnibus prout diei dignitas exigebat, beati corporis sarcinam piis subeuntes humeris, clerus lætabunda voce, plebs summa cum devotione, utrique cum non minima cordis contritione progrediuntur. . . . Jam modicum processerant cum subito parvula nubes imbriferis concita ventis visa est. . . . Cum jam partes ecclesiæ orientales transissent, mirabile dictu, tanta facta est pluviæ inundatio ut antequam regrederetur, ornamenta quibus festive clerus decorabatur, et cunctorum commeantium vestes largifluis destillarent imbribus, &c.—William Kecell of Beverley (*c.* A.D. 1060), *Mirac. S. Joannis Beverlacensis*, in *AA. SS. Maji*, ii. 175.

[35] Petitio abbatis de Nept in Wallio qui petit fieri festum beatæ Margaretæ in domo sua tantum quæ frequenter guerrarum multiplicitate turbatur, ut facilius retineat guerrarum persecutores, qui quodam modo in maxima devotione et reverentia dictam virginem habent, in cujus honore habent capellam dedicatam, exauditur.—*Statuta anni* 1247, *Cap. General. Ordinis Cisterciensis*, in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, iv. 1388.

intercession of his country's illustrious martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, by saying not merely one, but two Masses, on the festival of that defender of the Church's liberties.[36] Of even those periodical (220) amusements which, taking their colour from the creed of our people, showed that, in the olden times, this land was so thoroughly Catholic, some brought this Intercession of the Saints by another, but no less striking way, to men's thoughts. The pageant of the boy-bishop vested as St. Nicholas, the little meek-eyed girl arrayed as St. Catharine, walking in procession, with a crowd of lights about her, the bands of rosy children guised as Holy Innocents, crowned with flowers, and skipping and singing as they went from door to door through the town at Childermas-tide, were shows that gladdened, while they taught, all classes in the commonwealth to think of God and heaven.[37]

[36] In festivitate S. Thomæ martyris, Anglis ab olim concessæ sunt duæ missæ, ceteris una.—*Statuta anni* 1185, *Ordinis Cisterciensis*, in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, iv. 1258.

[37] The xii daye of July (A.D. 1541) there was a proclamaciō . . . neither ye children should be decked, ne goo about upon S. Nycolas, S. Katherin, S. Clement, the holy Innocens, and suche like dayes (Fabyan, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, p. 702). What used to be done on those feasts, we partly learn from the Decree itself forbidding them, which says: Upon Sainte Nicolas, sainte Catheryne, sainte Clement, the holy Innocentes, and such like, children be strangelye decked and apparelid to counterfaite priestes, bysshopps, and women; and so ledde with songes and daunces from house to house, bleassing the people, and gatherynge of monye, &c. (Wilkins, *Concil.*, iii. 860). That the sour grimness of those men who began at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign to overset religion, was not liked by our countrymen, is shown by

By such harmless (221) representations the Church said to every one, "young men and maidens, let the old with the younger praise the name of the Lord . . . a hymn to all his saints." [38]

From the Intercession, our next step naturally leads us to

The Invocation of Saints and Angels,

as practised by our English forefathers.

For a thousand years and more, this island's cathedrals, and minsters, and parish churches, used to ring with the notes of that sublime and heart-awakening litany which we English Catholics, and our brothers in the true belief of all tribes, and tongues, and nations, from pole to pole, from the rising to the setting sun—a world-wide people—(222) still sing so often in our services. During the Rogation, or, as they were then better called, the gang-days,[39] and whenever

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the fact that when these same harmless usages were brought up again in Mary's reign, the good citizens of London rejoiced at seeing them once more, for Machyn tells us: "The v day of Desember was Sant Necolas evyn, and Sant Necolas whentt a-brod in most partt in London syngyng after the old fassyon, and was reseyved with mony good pepulle in-to ther howses, and had myche good chere as ever they had, in mony plasses" (Machyn, *Diary*, 121). The xxiv day of November, being the eve of saint Katharine, at six of the clock at night, sant Katheryn's lyght went about the battlements of Saint Paul's with singing, and sant Katheryn gohying a prossessyon (*ibid.*, 119). Of St. George's day and its procession, notice has already been taken in this work (vol. ii. p. 343).

[38] *Psal.* cxlviii. 12, 14.

[39] Beginning from the earliest periods of Anglo-Saxon Church history, we find that the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in

any swart evil had betided this land, our clergy and people went in procession through the streets of the town, and about the fields of the country parishes, with Christ's holy rood and banners, wrought with the figures of His saints, borne before them; as St. Austin did, when he landed in Kent, and began to preach the faith.[40] While going thus along, Saxons and Normans—each in their times—made the city's walls, and the hills and valleys of each rural district, to send back the name of every one of those saints upon whom they were then calling to help them by his or her prayers in heaven, as they themselves, wretched sinful men, were beseeching on earth their one common Lord and Father above to hear their cry for grace, and to forgive them their misdeeds.[41] (223) The meaning of this

Ascension week, were called gang-days, through the custom of ganging or walking in religious procession; now they are known as the Rogation days. A writer in Mary's reign, tells us how "in gaune wyke callyd Rogasyon weke they whent a prosessyon with baners in dyvers plases . . . and they had good chere after." —Machyn, *Diary*, p. 236.

[40] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 25.

[41] In the "Ordo quomodo æcclesia debeat dedicari," in the *Egbert Pontifical*, pp. 27–30, one of the forms of this litany, as used among the Anglo-Saxons, may be seen; though shorter, it differs but slightly from the form now employed throughout the world, and given in the "Missale Romanum, in Sabbato Sancto," and at the end of the "Breviarium Romanum." In the printed Sarum "Processionale," wherein it is to be found at the end of the "Ordo processionis in secunda feria in rogationibus," and in both parts of the Portous, wherein it comes after the seven penitential psalms, the English saints' names are not so many as they are in several MSS. A fine psalter, owned by myself, hand-written, and of this country, besides those among our native saints enumerated in the printed Salisbury service-books, invokes,

rite itself, and the nature of the doctrine bound up along with it, were carefully (224) unfolded to the people in those books which they loved so well to read: one of such works says: "After in this processyon syngulerly we calle the suffrages of all sayntes. And why we call to the sayntes,

in the litany, St. Oswald, St. Eadmund, St. Grimbald, St. Athelwold, St. Dunstan, St. Egwin, St. Columban, St. Etheldritha; and in that other splendid psalter—which John Grandison, bishop of Exeter, called in his will "psalterium pulchrius," as he bequeathed it to Isabel, Edward III.'s daughter, and I am glad to say now in my possession—are enumerated St. Alban, St. Edward, St. Richard, St. Guthlac, St. Columba. The litany comes likewise in the English and Latin Primer (A.D. 1556). According to Salisbury use, the clergy walked within the church in procession, singing the litanies, each Wednesday and Friday during Lent. —*Processionale in Dominica prima Quadrag.* [ed. Henderson, 1882, pp. 32–41].

The litany of the saints used to be sung, as it would seem, in parts of England every Sunday at the procession before high Mass. For a short period the olden liturgy was brought back again, and followed, among other places, at Durham, when the people of the north arose in arms to fight for the use of their fathers' and the nation's venerable and primitive religion. When tried for what he had done at the cathedral during that time, William Smith, one of its minor canons, acknowledged that he "helpt to singe mattens and evensonge, and went after the cross in procession, with *Ora pro nobis*, and havinge a Processioner delyvered to him by Th. Mathew, the chanter," &c.—*Depositions, &c. from the Courts of Durham*, p. 138.

Having maimed our beautiful old Catholic litany, and shrivelling up our equally fine old English bidding prayer, the men of new doctrines who drew up the "Book of Common Prayer" compounded out of both what is now called the "Litany" in the service of the Establishment. The Sunday procession, in which the old litany used to be sung, was put down by Edward VI. (Wilkins, *Conc.*, iv. 6); yet even after this, the Litany is called by Protestants the "Procession," for Cranmer, in his *mandatum* ordering a public thanksgiving to be made for a victory over the Scots (A.D. 1547), directs the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London,—to cause the procession in Englishe, and "Te Deum" to be openely and devoutelie songe.—*Ibid.*, 18.

dyuers reasons ben assygned heretofore. But yet there ben of ye generall wherfore we praye the sayntes. Fyrst for our pouerte, ȝt for glorye of sayntes, and for reuerence of God. For the sayntes may well knowe the vowes ȝt the prayers of the suplyaũtes. For in the mirrour perpetuall, that is (225) Jhesu cryst, they understonde how moche it apperteyneth to theyr joye and to oure profyte. The fyrst reason is for our pouerte ȝt for our myserye, or for our defaute we haue some meryte, to the ende that where our merytes ben not suffycyent, the suffrages of sayntes may auayle us. Or for defaute that we haue in contemplacyon of God, ȝt that we may se perfytly the lyght souerayne that we se ȝt beholde in his sayntes. Or for defaute that we haue in louynge God. For we se that some shewe more greter affeccyon to a saynt than they do to God, ȝt suche people ben imperfyte. The seconde reason is for the glory of sayntes; for God wyll that we calle the sayntes. By cause that by theyr suffrages that we requyre, we gloryfye them, ȝt the more gretely we prayse them. The thyrde reason is for the reuerence of God, to the ende that the synners that haue offended God, that which dare not approche to God in theyr persones, they approche hym by the frendes of God, in demaũdynge theyr suffrages." [42]

[42] *Ye Golden Legend*, fol. xxvi. Imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. 1527.

It was not only as clad in weeds of peace or the livery of their gilds, our countrymen wended, in long-drawn processional array, amid the shady lanes and the green meadows of the still hamlet,[43] or along (226) the city's streets, all hung with silks and tapestry; but also when girt in iron and sword in hand, with death glaring upon them on the battle-field, that they cried unto the saints in heaven, and besought their prayers with God. It was when England's kings dashed into the hottest thickness of the fight, bidding all to follow, that they called aloud upon St. Edward and St. George.[44] It was as he put his spear in rest, and pricked his steed forward to the charge, that England's knight asked his Saviour's forgiveness, and begged St. Mary and all Hallows to pray for him. It was when the storm of battle raved the

[43] Several notices of these gang-day processions about the fields, with their flags and banners, may be found in our old writers. Odd mistakes sometimes happened from them: Die Lunæ Ascensionem Dominicam præcedente, rapta est Comitissa Lancastriæ. . . . Dumque sic fœmina duceretur, ecce in itinerando inter sepes et nemora, inter Haulton et Farnaham existentia, ductores vident eminus vela et vexilla; aderant enim sacerdotes cum populo, facientes processiones more solito circa campos.—Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, p. 108 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 148].

[44] Rex Edwardus proinde frendens apri more, et ab ira et dolore turbatus, evaginato gladio, Sanctum Edwardum, et Sanctum Georgium invocavit, dicens: *Ha Sant Edward, Ha . . . George;* quibus auditis et visis, confestim Anglici confluebant ad regem suum, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 168 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 274]. Philippa, Edward III.'s queen, after having ridden among the troops, before the onset at the battle of Neville's Cross, took her leave, and recommended them to the protection of God and St. George.—Froissart, *Chron.*, i. 174.

wildest, and stout English hearts, stouter because they beat beneath St. George's broad red cross that shone upon their breasts, went rushing (227) on the foe, that they shouted their well-known war-cry—"St. George for England." When at last, the hardest push, the death-struggle, was to be made for victory, the words from an Edward's or a Henry's burning tongue that bade it, were, "in God's name and St. George's! banners, forwards!" yes, and that soul-stirring thunder-like Amen, which burst forth in shouts, rending the clouds, from fiery thousands, was "St. George for England!"[45] Cressy, and Poitiers, and Agincourt, were fought and won by Englishmen, whose onslaught was loudly pealed out in a cry from bold, not craven lips, to God, and God's happy saints in heaven. But when the hazards of the fight were over,—when the fear of defeat had been turned into gladness for a well-won field, and every heart beat merrily, did Englishmen's thoughts (228) of

[45] They (the English) gave a shout of "St. George for Guienne!" and Sir John Chandos said to the (Black) prince: "Sir, Sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand," &c. The prince replied; "John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost." He then said to Sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, "Banner, advance in the name of God and St. George!" (Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. Johnes, i. chap. clxi., Battle of Poitiers, p. 219). Our Black Prince went into battle at Navarretta with the same words (*ibid.*, p. 371). *The Golden Legend* tells us that "this blyssed and holy martyr saynt George is patrone of this reame of Englond, and ye crye of men of warre."—Wynkyn de Worde's edition, fol. cxix.

God and of his Hallows fade away? No, they glowed the warmer; and as an everlasting thanksgiving to Heaven for its kindness, that saint's festival upon which a victory such as that of Agincourt had been gained, was, at the beseeching of king, lords, warriors of all degrees, and the whole country, written down by the Church in her calendar as a high-day, and ordered to be so kept for ever after throughout this land.[46]

(229) The people, who knew that in giving this secondary, this lower honour to God's well-beloved

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[46] Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, cujus laudes et præconia in Dei et sanctorum suorum devota veneratione præ cæterarum regionum et provinciarum ecclesiis orbis attollit universus, sacra promeretur auctoritas, ut ipsorum laudibus eadem ecclesia magis exuberet, &c. . . . novissimis hiis diebus almifici confessoris et pontificis sui beatissimi Johannis de Beverlaco, ut veraciter confidimus, suffragio speciali ecclesiam prædictam, una cum præfatis regni proceribus, incolis et membris universis miraculosius dignatus est, et evidenter specialius consolari. Ea nempe consolatio ineffabilis . . . ac semper memoriæ revocanda christianissimi videlicet principis Henrici regis Angliæ quinti et sui exercitus in bello de Agincourt nuper in partibus Picardiæ commisso, gratiosa victoria quæ in festo translationis dicti sancti ad laudem divini nominis et regni Angliæ honorem, ex immensa Dei misericordia Anglicis est concessa . . . ad dicti christianissimi principis nostri instantiam specialem, memorati confessoris sanctissimi memoriam ubique per nostram provinciam prædictam votivis et devotis affectibus duximus exaltandam . . . statuentes . . . quod festum depositionis dicti sancti Johannis . . . cum regimine chori secundum usum Sarum ecclesiæ, per provinciam nostram futuris temporibus perpetuo celebretur. Cæterum, quia in festo translationis ejusdem, de sanctis Crispino et Crispiniano consuevit quasi per omnes ecclesias provinciæ nostræ celebrari, statuimus, quod de cætero singulis annis dictus dies vicesimus quintus mensis Octobris, ob tam notabilis rei memoriam ubique per provinciam nostram, celebris habeatur. — *Statutum H. Chicheley*, in Wilkins, *Conc.*, iii. 379.

friends and servants because they were such, they thereby worshipped God himself, knew too, that for a like reason they might, while asking the self-same kind of aid, render the self-same sort of homage to the angelic spirits; and so they did. Of all that heavenly host their guardian angel—as he should be—was the first unto whom our forefathers were wont to call, and him did they invoke at their morning and evening prayers.[47] Such an Anglo-Saxon, such a Norman, such an old (230) English devotion[48] is not as yet worn out even among the Protestants of England; and our rural population—the last to forget, and always most loth to give up an olden religious practice, still teach their children to kneel down before they go to sleep, and say those rough

[47] Credo quod sis angelus sanctus a Deo omnipotente ad custodiam mei deputatus: propterea peto et per illum qui te ad hoc ordinavit humiliter imploro, ut me miseram, fragilem atque indignam semper et ubique in hac vita custodias, protegas a malis omnibus atque defendas, et cum Dominus hanc animam meam migrare jusserit, nullam in eam potestatem demonibus habere permittas, sed tu eam leniter a corpore suscipias, et in sinu Habraæ suaviter usque perducas, jubente ac juvante creatore et salvatore Domino nostro, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.—Cotton MS., *Titus* D. xxvii. fol. 74, of about the time of the Normans, and written in this country.

[48] Very likely this strong English feeling of reverence for God's angels, was the reason why a large gilt figure of a cherub had been set, as we learn from an old writer, on the top of Canterbury cathedral's spire:—Sed cum jam prope civitatem (Cantuariam) fuisset, mox ut pinnam ecclesiæ et cherubin aureum vidit, quasi cœlestis cherubin virtute repulsus ultra progredi non potuit.—Osbern, *Mirac. S. Dunstani*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* vii. 681 [*R.S.*, lxiii. 154].

rhymes which their sires, for hundreds of years, have said as they begged God's saints and angels to watch around the bed whereon they were about to slumber.[49]

(231) Catholic England, as every other believing country does, and always has done, took care to make her inward faith known through her outward actions—through devotional usages which could not be mistaken or applied amiss, except wilfully, because all might learn, for all were taught their true end and meaning. Among those various ceremonies hence thought of, one was

[49] Those well-known rhymes which, in our lonely villages and hamlets all over England, the country-people yet teach the first lispings of their young children to say as a short prayer at night before they go to sleep, embody an invocation of saints, and are founded on a belief in the guardianship of angels :—

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Watch the bed I lie upon:
Four corners to my bed,
Four angels there lie spread,
One at head, and one at feet,
And two to guard me to Heaven's gate.
One to sing and two to pray,
And one to carry my soul away.

If I should sleep and never wake,
Pray to God my soule to take,
Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

From a feeling akin to this self-same belief were our old sepulchral monuments designed : very many of our venerable Catholic English grave-brasses have the symbols of the four Evangelists figured, one at each corner of them; and as often may be seen two angels kneeling by the head of the sculptured effigy that lies stretched out, with hands clasped and uplifted in prayer, upon the beautifully wrought high tomb.

The Bending of a Piece of Money.

Stretched upon the bed of sickness, or when overtaken by mishaps or sorrow, the individual called not only upon God, but begged some saint to pray for him and along with him to their common Lord and master. With his own hands, the suppliant, or, if too weak, some friend, bent for him a gold or silver coin, with a promise that should he be (232) restored again to health, or freed from his unhappiness, he himself would go and carry that piece to the church of the saint whose intercession he had asked.[50] A vow was thus in a manner

[50] Fuit in Cicestrensi diœcesi, quidam Simon nomine et uxor illi nomine Catharina, Deum timentes. Prædicta igitur mulier. in una mamillarum suarum graviter cœpit infirmari. Vocato itaque viro suo, ambo pariter B. Richardi (Cicestrensis) auxilium invocantes, facto voto, denarium ad ejus tumbam offerendum complicant, &c. (*Vita et Mirac. S. Richardi Cicestrensis*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, i. 309). Mensuratus ad comitem (Simonem de Montfort) et denario complicato, statim surrexit et convaluit (puer qui per medium diem jacuit extinctus).—Rishanger, *Chron.*, ed. Halliwell (C. S.), p. 74. This expression often occurs in the "Miracula":—Denario plicato et deaurato (*ibid.*, 84). Et mirum contigit de denario plicato perdito et quæsito, et tertia nocte in lecto suo mirabiliter invento (*ibid.*, 88). Cum audisset (W. de Uffenham) a quibusdam vicinis de miraculis quæ Deus operatus est apud Evesham per merita comitis Symonis, plicavit unum denarium Deo solvendum pro sanitate recuperanda (*ibid.*, 92). Compare: Forte S. Godrici memoria animo languentis occurrit, et mox denario curvato, se illius sepulchrum invisuram devovit (matrona), si ipsius meritis mortem jam ei imminentem posset evadere, . . . mox antequam domi rediret ad ejus sepulchrum advenit, et denarium curvatum offerens, nobis hæc omnia revelavit (*Libellus de Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 443). Cubicularius suus locutus est ei (Magistro Gilberto de S. Leofardo) "Domine dicitur quod multa miracula fiunt pro Symone de Monteforti et sociis suis; bonum esset vovere vos sibi, ut videtur."

spoken, and (233) the bent-up silver coin, at the same time it was an earnest for the fulfilment of the sacred promise, became an abiding token of its having been plighted.

Another and not less expressive way of giving utterance to those same feelings of holy trust in God, was for the sick man to make a vow of carrying unto a particular saint's church or shrine, as soon as recovered health would let him,

A Wax-Taper the Measure of his Person,

that is, as long as he was tall in stature, or as much in length and thickness as happened to be the crippled or ailing member of his body. Often, too, a small waxen likeness of himself, or at least of the limb which had been cured of its smarts, was promised and duly brought by the healed person, on the day of his thanksgiving.[51] In

Cui respondit languidus, "Placet michi quod sic fiat; plica sibi e sociis denarium, qui apud Evesham secum requiescunt, et si contingat me hujus passionis amaritudine expirare, deferas illuc denarium vitæ meæ. Si vero possum evadere, ipsos personaliter visitabo." Et ecce hoc facto, stimulus cruciatus tanti subito mollescit. . . . Et die Dominica . . . cum vicinis suis ecclesiam corporaliter visitavit, et in signum suæ convalescenciæ quandam ymaginem ceræ apud Evesham destinavit.—Rishanger, *Chron.*, p. 104.

Perhaps the "broken silver" and the "broken money" (fracta pecunia) of which the keepers of St. Cuthberht's shire at Durham made mention in their accompts (Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, pp. 140, 149, 150), may have been so many pieces of this so bent money.

[51] Of this once very favourite but now quite disused custom, there lie scattered through our national ecclesiastical documents many and curious notices, a few of which are here brought before

all this there was (234) an acknowledgment of Heaven's almightiness and kindness; and the

the reader :—Johanni de Langele misso per preceptum Reg', usque Cicestr' cum oblationibus ejusdem Reg', pro eisdem ad feretrum Sancti Richardi ibidem nomine suo offerend', pro expensis suis et stipendiis unius haken' easdem oblationes portantis, videlt. unum pannum ad aurum et mensuras ipsius R. in cera, Manfredo de Pavia misso per preceptum Regis usque Wygorn' cum consimil' oblationibus, pro eisdem ad feretrum Sancti Wolstani nomine suo offerend', &c.—*Lib. Quotid. or Wardrobe Account of Edward I.*, p. 97. Contigit in familia nobilis dominæ comitissæ de Arundel quæ in castro de Lewes moram fecit tunc temporis, quemdam puerum illius quondam nobilis viri Hugonis de Bigod fratris prædictæ comitissæ et justitiarii Angliæ, gravi morbo infirmitatis detineri; quem B. Richardus aliquando de sacro fonte levarat . . . quædam puella genere nobilis, tam flentium lacrymis quam pueri morientis afflictione commota, petito licinii filo, puerum cœpit mensurare sub his verbis B. Richardum invocans et ingenti fidei devotione dicere : "O S. Richarde multa miracula tuis sanctis meritis fieri prædicantur in terris : unde peto suppliciter, ut si vera sunt quæ dicuntur, in puero isto, tuis sanctis manibus sacri baptismatis unda perfuso, nunc digneris ostendere et beatam Virginem Mariam, quam in terris specialiter dilexisti, interpella, ut, ipsa juvante ac Filium suum interpellante, puer iste, in mortis articulo constitutus, tuis precibus pristinæ restituatur sanitati, et quem nominis tui vocabulo decorasti, in tui quoque nominis invocatione, Christo præstante, reddatur incolumis." Vix autem puerum mensurando verba compleverat, et ecce puer . . . statim ad plenum integræ redditus est sospitati, &c.—*Vita et Mirac. S. Richardi ep. Cicest.*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, i. 309.

Alia matrona de Herterpul filium suum desperate ægrotantem Sancto Godrico devovit, quem postmodum secum illo perduxit. A fratribus igitur ibi commorantibus candelam ad pueri corpus languidi dimetiendum, et sic cum lumine offerendum petiit, emit, et accepit; cujus candelæ longitudo vel mensura adeo adæquata corpori infantis existit, quod mirum in modum in nulla parte ejus mensuram vel longitudinem excessit (*Libellus de Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 411). Desperata igitur omnibus Sancto Godrico filiam suam jam seminecem devovit, et corpus illius cum capite candela mensuratum circumcinxit (*ibid.*, p. 427). Sancto Dei Godrico se devovit (clericus), et laneis solummodo indutus et nudis pedibus ad ejus sepulchrum progressus cum candela qua se prius mensuraverat, accensa, ibi noctem insomnem transigere

end looked at, while making (235) these several sorts of vows, was that the very act of fulfilling

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decrevit (*ibid.*, 455). Puer quidam de partibus Lincolniæ . . . pervenit ad mortem. . . . Mater, cujus fides inter lachrymas cum filio extincta non fuerat, cum multa fiducia ad corpus accessit, acceptoque filo candelis faciendis idoneo, puerum in omni dimensione mensurare cœpit, &c.—Roger of Wendover, *Flores Histor.*, ed. Coxe, iii. 164 [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. i. 310].

Richardus de Hertforde carpentarius, dum esset in reparatione stagni cujusdam molendini, quædam strues lignorum cecidit super pedes ejus et eos ita contrivit quod se movere non potuit . . . pedes suos fecit mensurari ad comitem Simonem. Et hoc facto dolor apparuit levigatus, &c.—Rishanger, *Chron. Mirac. Simonis de Montfort*, p. 79. Alicia soror W. rectoris ecclesiæ de Werinton . . . inflaturam sustinens per quam dubitabatur eam morte subitanea extingui, hæc autem de consilio quorumdam eidem assistencium ad comitem Symonem mensurata, convaluit. Hujus rei testimonium perhibuit dictus Willelmus qui candelam mensuratam apud Evesham detulit (*ibid.*, p. 80). Galfridus de Say, miles de Essex . . . mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit (et), Johannes de Hyke candelam suam apud Evesham detulit (*ibid.*, p. 83). Prior Sancte Crucis de Waltham, gravi infirmitate detentus . . . fratres circumstantes fleverunt et dixerunt "Bonum est ut sis mensuratus ad comitem Symonem"; at ille negavit, dicens, "Absit aliquo religioso facere votum, sine præcepto prælati," &c. (*ibid.*, 83). Nobilis puer de Essex, habens infirmitatem ab infancia . . . mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Unde, in signum sanitatis, detulit capud ceræ apud Evesham, et candelam suæ longitudinis et latitudinis.—*Ibid.*, 86.

Quidam clericus Robertus nomine de Vindriaco castello in Anglia sito . . . a morbo qui cancer dicitur in inguine percussus est . . . necessitate constrictus auxilium S. Gibriani . . . invocare compulsus est. Ait enim intra se dicens: O mi Pater . . . precibus et invocationibus semper præsto es . . . precor ut miserearis. His dictis filum accepit, et in gyrum coxam suam mensuratus est votumque vovit, et ait: ad mensuram istius fili, si me respexeris, candelam faciam, et ecclesiam tuam cum omni devotione requiram (*AA. SS. Maji*, vii. 647). On this passage, the editors of the above volume of that invaluable work observe: Nihil usitatius Anglis, eo tempore, Sanctum aliquem invocantibus fuisse, quam hujusmodi votivas mensurationes, docebant miracula S. Thomæ Herefordiensis, &c. (*ibid.*, 648). During the siege of Limoges, by the English (A.D. 1183)—mulieres intra muros castrum stupæ filo

them should help to hallow God's name (236) amongst men. As the bearer went and left that candle, or image, or silver coin—the witness of his (237) words—upon the altar, or before a shrine, he thereby meant to speak his loudest thanks in hearing of his (238) own and after times, and to say that while unto God alone was he indebted for the health and strength sent back

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cinxerunt ex quo candelas multas fecerunt, quas S. Martiali aliisque ecclesiis diviserunt (*ibid.*, 539; et *Junii*, v. 571). This shows that the practice was followed by the French as well as English. This wick, of such a length as to reach all about the camp, was perhaps made into very thin tapers by those good women, in fulfilment of their vow. Our English custom was, that sometimes the bed on which the sick man lay should be measured all round, after the above-noticed fashion, with a wick to be wrought up for the same purpose. In some of these instances it is likely that these long strings of wax taper were not very thick, and instead of being cut into sizes short enough for use at the altar and about the church, were left in their one entire length, coiled up, however, into folds, so as to form what we are to understand by "trindles," or rolls of wax, which the "Injunctions" of Edward VI., at the change of religion, forbade, in these words:—They shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned (!) miracles, pilgrimages, &c.—Wilkins, *Conc.*, iv. 7. Ite lychinum facite de eodem grabatum in quo jacet (homo Leminer nomine qui in villa quæ dicitur Berningeham ægritudine gravi detinetur) in circuitu cingite, scilicet a capite per dextram partem usque ad pedes, deinde a pedibus per lævam usque ad caput, et postea lychino ceram superponentes, candelam facite: ipse vero si tantum convaluerit eamdem candelam in insulam Ely ad ecclesiam virginis Etheldredæ deferat, aut per aliquem nuntium fidelem mittat quatenus per orationes ejus ab hac infirmitate convalescat.—Thomas of Ely, (*c.* A.D. 1163), *Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 551. Facta candela recepta omnium membrorum sanitate, de lecto surrexit, et ad ecclesiam sanctæ Virginis candelam secum portans lætus et hilaris perrexit. Quo cum pervenisset, super altare candelam posuit, &c.—*Ibid.*, 552.

to him, he believed that through the "communion of saints"—saints' prayers in heaven—help in winning such a happiness had been afforded him. For a memorial then of God's never-tiring love towards men, and for a mark that their fellow-servants about their common master's throne above had not forgotten those on earth, the grateful receiver of Heaven's goodness had brought his piece of silver money, his huge taper, or his waxen effigy, and hung it up there, to be, as his plighted offering, another amid a thousand tokens which instance how good God is, and how strong with Him are the prayers of the saints making intercession in our behalf.[52]

(239) Glowing with warmest gratitude, our countrymen used to vow themselves to become the servants[53] as it were unto that particular saint

[52] A minister of the Protestant Establishment, Mr. Raine, says—"It is some gratification, however, to find that even in the darkest period miracles were believed to be wrought, not by the virtue of the Saints, but by the power of God. Even Reginald, one of the most credulous of hagiologic writers, says:—Omnia quidem (Sanctorum) opera digna præconio sunt, quia singula ipsorum in Dei potentia et ipsius nominis gloria facta sunt."—*De Adm. S. Cuthberti*, ed. Raine, Preface, p. x.

[53] Uxor etenim militis cujusdam de Sussessia, cui oculorum cæcitatem vehementia diuturni languoris intulerat, audiens hoc modo occubuisse dominum Cantuariensem, divinitus inspirata in has ilico voces erupit: "Sancte martyr Christi Thoma, tibi me devoveo; si mihi subveneris in hoc periculo, cum devota oblatione locum tuæ requiestionis adibo." Vix verba complevit, et optato diu lumine eadem hora potita in brevi de residuo morbo perfecte convaluit (Edward Grim, *Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar. et Martyris*, § 85) [*R.S.*, lxvii. ii. 440]. Mater autem nimium consolatione repleta, ipsius S. Willielmi servitio filiam devovit, et ad propria, post publicationem tanti beneficii per S. Willielmi suffragia a Deo

through the aid of whose intercession they had more immediately received from God the blessing which they so much wished for; and to give a fresh pledge of their strong attachment, they would sometimes change their own baptismal name for that of their holy and befriending patron.[54] The blind, the lame, the (240) aged, who lived by begging about the churches, often began their petition for an alms by asking it for the sake of that saint before whose shrine the person solicited was kneeling.[55] When the year brought round the festival of some distinguished servant of Christ, the priest of the parish thought such a solemnisation not kept with due honour unless he fed the hungry, clothed the naked, mended the wants of the needy, and made befitting cheer for those among the clergy and lay-folks of the upper walks of life who chose to come and hallow the day by joining in its services.[56] Our

percepta, cum puero remeavit.—*Acta S. Willielmi archiep. Eborac.*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 145. Recepta omnium membrorum sanitate, de lecto surrexit (vir) et ad ecclesiam sanctæ virginis (Æthelredæ) perrexit . . . factaque oratione non modica . . . servum se beatæ virginis Ætheldredæ ex corde puro devovit, &c.—*Miracula S. Ætheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 552.

[54] Hunc Sancto Godrico toto corpore candela mensuratum devovit; sed puer eadem nocte convaluit, &c. Quæ filium suum illuc sanum cum candela sua detulit, et de Radulfo Godricum nominari fecit; quatenus ejus adepto nomine sanus in posterum viveret, &c.—*Libellus de Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 435.

[55] Unde ad orantem mox accessit (pauper), et pro Beati Cuthberti amore, alicujus beneficii alimoniam ab eo expetivit.—Reginald, *De Adm. S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 161.

[56] Hoc enim ei (sacerdoti qui matrici ecclesiæ quæ in Ardene sita . . . deservivit) semper erat consuetudinis, pauperes videlicet in

poets, too, (241) were not slow in awakening their lays, and many a beautifully illuminated codex, written and painted by an English hand, is filled with the metrical lives of saints.[57]

Amid, however, all those star-like souls glowing round the throne of God, the brightest to our forefathers' eyes was Mary, the sweet, the holy virgin—the mother of Christ, the mild, the spotless Mary: her—that one created being hallowed by her Maker and Redeemer with a light of glory outshining the dazzling fire gushing from the choirs of burning cherubim, did they look upon and love before every other saint; unto her did they as children cry; her as their fond mother did they beseech to become the bearer of their sighs, and promises, and prayers, to her Divine Son. Nothing could be warmer than

Catholic England's Devotion to The Blessed Virgin Mary.

(242) But why? Was it for her mere self—for any unbestowed holiness dreamed of as abiding

die sollempnitatis beati Cuthberti alimento reficere, inopum angustias subveniendo relevare, nudis operimentum pro viribus administrare, miserosque, quantum possibilitas permittebat, in fovendo relevare; honestiores vero personas, tam cleri quam populi, hospitio suscipere, et omne eis humanitatis obsequium sollicitus exhibere. —*Ibid.*, p. 127.

[57] In the British Museum, among the Cotton and Harleian MSS.; at Oxford, in the Bodleian and Ashmolean libraries; at Cambridge, in Corpus Christi College library, without naming many other smaller collections, may be found several codices of the Saints' lives versified. Perhaps the most valuable MS. of the

in her of her own? No; even to have thought that she had anything which she did not get from God's free gift, would have been looked upon as wrong—a sin. Our forefathers loved her so, because Christ had loved her; had filled her with grace; had made her the highest, holiest of all created beings; had taken His flesh of her womb; had wished, as He (243) still wishes, all His followers to love her for His sake.[58] How did this country's feelings show themselves on such a subject? Let us begin with her

Perpetual Virginity.

The belief that Mary, the mother of God, lived

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kind, is that one in the Bodleian known as Bodl. 779—a bulky folio volume, well written, and with this inscription at the commencement:—Here begynnen the tytles of the book that is cald in Latyn tonge Salus Anime, and in Englysh tonge Sowlehele.

[58] In one of the "Revelations of love that Jesu Christ our endless blisse made in XVI shewings" to Mother Juliana (*c.* A.D. 1373), this holy ankress of Norwich says:—"And with this same cheer of mirth and joy, our good Lord looked down on the right side, and brought to my mind where our Lady stood in the time of His Passion, and said, 'Wilt thou see her?' And in this sweet word, [it was] as if He had said, 'I wot well that thou wouldst see my blessed Mother: for, after myself, she is the highest joy that I might shew thee, and most pleasance and worship to me; and most she is desired to be seen of all my blessed creatures.' And for the high, marvellous, singular love that He hath to this sweet Maiden, His blessed Mother . . . as if He said, 'Wilt thou see how I love her, that thou mightest joy with me in the love that I have in her, and she in me?' And also (unto more understanding this sweet word) our Lord speaketh to all mankind that shall be saved, as it were all to one person; as if He said, 'Wilt thou see in her how thou art loved? for thy love I made her so high, so noble, and so worthy; and this pleaseth me; and so will I that it doeth thee.'"—*Revelations of Divine Love made to Mother Juliana, &c.* [pp. 52, 53, ed. Warrack, 1901].

and died ever a virgin, was always strongly brought before the people's mind in Catholic England, not only by ecclesiastical symbolism, but even in the national literature. Our poets sang of her :—

Hail beo yow Marie, moodur and may (maid)
Mylde, and meke, and merciable ;
. . . . . .
Heil sterre, that never stunteth liht,
Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent,
. . . . . .
Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevene quene,
Heyl gatus of paradys,
Heyl sterre of the se that ever is sene,
Heyl riche, royall, and ryhtwys,
Heyl burde, iblessed mote yowe bene !
Heyl perle of al perey the pris ;
. . . . . .
Yowe preye to us to thi sone so fre ! Ave.[59]

Taking up the same strain, Chaucer says :—

O moder mayde ! O mayde moder free,
O bush unbrent, &c. ;[60]

(244) while "Dan Lydgate, monke of Burye," chimes in thus :—

Mary moder wel thou bee,
Mary moder thenke on me,
Mayden and moder was never none
Togeder lady saf thou allone.[61]

Not a lonely village church could be entered, nor

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[59] Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, ii. 108, 109. London, 1840.

[60] Chaucer, Prologue of the *Prioress's Tale* [Skeat's *Student's Chaucer*, p. 498].

[61] "Lyfe of our Lady," MS. Harl. 2382, fol. 86. These lines are to be found in the works of other poets of the period.

an illuminated book of "Hours" opened, but the eye was caught by an emblem of her maidenhood in the flowering white lily, or some other device as easily understood, because so often expounded in the popular teaching of those days. *Pauper* tells *Dives*, that "the image of our lady is paynted with a childe in the left arme, in token that she is mother of God, and with a lyly or els with a rose in her right hond, in token that she is mayden without ende, and floure of all women."[62] "There be some people," says another old English writer, "that asketh a questyon why there stondeth a wyne potte wyth lylyes bytwene our Lady and Gabriel the angell att her salutacyon. Thys is the cause for our Lady at her salutacion conceyved by the feythe.

(245) "¶ Narratio.

"¶ It byfelle thus upon a cristmasse daye that a crysten man and a Jew sat togyder and spake of the concepcyon of our Lady; and as they were there, stode a wynne potte tofore them with a lylye there in. Thene sayde the cristen man, we byleve that our Lady conceyved lyke as thise lylye conceyveth the colour of grene. And after bringeth forthe a wythe flour wythouth craft of man or ony perynge to the stalke, right so our

[62] *Dives and Pauper: a Compendiouse Treatyse or Dialogue of Dives and Pauper, that is to say, the Ryche and the Poore, upon the Tenne Commaundements*, 12mo. Imprynted by T. Berthelet, 1536, cap. vi. fol. 16, b.

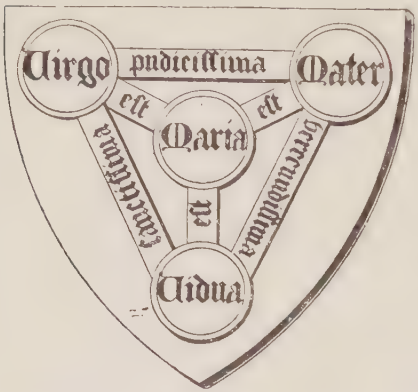
Lady conceyved of the holy ghoste, and after brought her sone oure Lorde Jesu criste withoute ony wemme of her body that is flour and chefe of al wymmen. Thene sayd the Jewe, whan I see a lyly spryng out of the dede stalke that stondeth in this pot, thenne wyll I byleve that thou sayste to be true. And anone ther with sprang a white lyly out of the dede stoke that stode in the same wyne pot. And whan the Jew saw that, anone he felle downe to the grounde up on his knees, and sayd thus, Lady now I see well that thou conceyved with the holy ghoost our Lord Jesu crist Goddis sone of heven, and thou were clene mayd bothe before the byrth and also after the byrth. And soo anone he was cristened. And this is the cause wherfore that the potte with the lyly is set bitwene oure Lady and the angell."[63] This was not all: "sithen ymagerie (246) is but a token and a boke of the lewde people,"[64] as this country has always been taught since Beda's time;[65] even the smallest parts of this symbolism were so chosen and put together as to tell its meanings not in a general but particularising manner. Our knowing craftsmen, therefore, showed neither more nor less than three flowers as blooming on the top of the one green lily-stalk,

[63] *The Festyvall*, printed at Rouen, by Martin Morin (A.D. 1499), fols. xcix., c.

[64] *Dives and Pauper, &c.*, cap. vi. fol. 16, b.

[65] Beda, *Hist. Abb.*, i. 6 [Plummer, i. 369, 370]. See vol. i. p. 245, of this work.

to say that before the birth, in the very birth itself, and after the birth of her son Christ, Mary was still a spotless maiden—the selfsame white unsullied flower of womankind under each of those three circumstances. To utter, but through another sort of form, this same truth, devices like the one[66] here set before the reader were adopted, and our Lady was declared, even after her becoming a mother and a widow, still to have ever been a Virgin.[67]



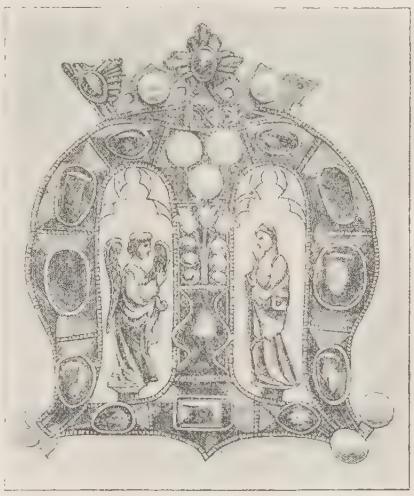
[66] This scutcheon is in that very curious stained-glass window at the west end of Cirencester church.

[67] Upon all kinds of art-work wrought in this country during the Middle Ages, is often to be seen the letter M crowned, as the monogram of the Blessed Virgin—of Mary the Queen of Heaven: Una casula de rubeo welweto brodato cum M coronatis, is noted down in an inventory (A.D. 1446) of Durham Priory (*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 91); and that beautiful piece of goldsmith's work, kept along with the founder's jewels at New College, Oxford, has the Annunciation well managed within a crowned M studded with pearls and gems, and is given in the *Archæological Journal*, ii. 206. [See opposite.]

From the following extract, we immediately see why, in so many of the older paintings of the Annunciation, the lily-stem is figured bearing, at top, *three* of its white flowers open and in full bloom. Small as this incident may look to those who know nothing of mediæval symbolism, it is, however, fraught with beautiful meaning. It tells us that our Lady was a spotless maid before she brought forth, while she brought forth, and ever after

(247) If, like the Anglo-Saxon, the Normans and the English called upon all God's Hallows—all

she brought forth, her Divine Son Christ our Lord. Erat quidam magnus magister de ordine Prædicatorum, qui per multos annos passus est dubitationem maximam de virginitate matris Christi. . . . Audiens autem quod sanctus Ægidius erat multum illuminatus, accessit ad eum: sanctus autem frater Ægidius adventum et propositum et pugnam ejus præsciens in spiritu, illi obviavit; et antequam pervenisset ad eum, cum baculo quem habebat in manu, percutiens terram, dixit: O frater Prædicator, *Virgo ante partum.* Et statim ubi percussit cum baculo, est ortum unum lilium pulcherrimum. Et secundo percutiens dixit: O frater Prædicator, *Virgo in partu*, et ortum est aliud lilium. Et tertio percutiens dixit: O frater Prædicator, *Virgo post partum*, et confestim ortum est tertium lilium.—*Magni Speculi Exemplorum*, ii. 86.



THE ANNUNCIATION

Of flowers the rose, but in particular the white lily, have been for ages acknowledged as the emblems of our Blessed Lady. This country's writers, all along its Catholic epoch, have loved to associate these fairest of flowers with the holiest, the sweetest of God's works—with the maiden mother of His Son. The lily, the emblem of maidenhood in general, with our countrymen became the especial emblem of that "fayre mayde that was flowre of all maydens, for righte as the lylye is whyte ϒt fayr amonge bryers ϒt other flowres; ryght soo was our lady among other maidens," &c. (*Liber Festivalis, De Nativit. B. Marie*, fol. cxlvi.). If the rose was the common symbol of the blood which martyrs shed for Christ's sake, much more fittingly did it become the symbol of her whose bosom had ever been filled with thoughts the sweetest, love the

the (248) saints above for their prayers, like the Anglo-Saxon too did they, while doing so, more

warmest, the holiest, wishes the most hallowed, and whose heart the sword of sorrow ran through and through, and was made to feel more than the martyr's pang while she beheld her Son hanging nailed upon the rood. This old and beautiful tradition of English ecclesiastical symbolism we however find was overlooked in the decorations that have been lately applied to several of our churches in which the walls of the chapel dedicated to the B. V. Mary, and the stained-glass windows put up in her honour, are seen profusely sprinkled with the yellow or golden fleur-de-lis of France, instead of her old recognised symbol, her own white silver lily. The fleur-de-lis belongs to the Iris family, and therefore is quite a distinct flower from the Lilium candidum, or lily. A field *azure*, powdered with fleurs-de-lis *or*, is, in heraldry, the armorial bearing of the royal blood of France. As such, it is found on some few walls and windows in churches of royal foundation in England, but with no other than an heraldic meaning in it, and only after A.D. 1340, the year when our Edward III. set up a claim to the French crown. On whatever else the fleur-de-lis is discovered, it can always be shown that the article bearing it was either made for, or given away by some one of the blood-royal of France, and therefore blazoned with the arms of that kingdom. The only old, and that not very old, example I know, of the blue walls of a chapel being powdered with gold fleurs-de-lis, is at Malta, in the church of St. John, in which each nation having knights belonging to that order, possessed a small chapel of its own, dedicated to its patron saint, and adorned with its appropriate armorial bearings. The chapel belonging to the French knights of Malta is dedicated to St. Louis, and has its walls painted in azure and sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis in gold: but this is national and heraldic, and has nothing to do with our Blessed Lady.

Not only the forsaking of an old traditional symbol, but the choice in its stead of a new one so easily mistakable for an heraldic device, is to be sorely regretted. Strangers may be so far led astray hereafter, as to lay it down for an undeniable fact, on beholding the heraldic bearings of France emblazoned in the windows and on the walls of our churches and chapels, that they owed their erection to French, not to English, zeal and piety; for mistakes of such a kind have actually been made. The learned Benedictine Dom. Menard wished to believe that some king of France once ruled over England, because he happened to find in a copy of the service for the coronation of the French kings,

especially (249) single out, from amid that happy crowd in heaven, the spotless mother of our

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mention made of the "regnum Albionis totius" (Menard, notes to St. Gregory, *Lib. Sacram.*, p. 586) [*P.L.*, lxxviii. 571], not remembering that from the context of the manuscript under his eyes, the most logical inference would have been that some Anglo-Saxon monarch, after the breaking up of the heptarchy, had been chosen and anointed king over the French. But neither is the fact: the truth seems to be that some old French scribe, transcribing from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript the form of the coronation service, forgot to adapt it for France, by not leaving out what belonged exclusively to England.

The rose and the lily, emblems of martyrdom and virginity belonging to the B. V. Mary, are thus noticed by St. Beda:—

> Atque inter roseis splendentia castra triumphis
> Candida virgineo simul inter et agmina flore
> Quæ trahit alma Dei genitrix, pia virgo Maria.

—Beda, *Hymnus de die judicii* [*P.L.*, xciv. 637]; but at later times these appropriate floral symbols have been attributed to other saints by our native poets. Thus Chaucer sang of St. Cecily:—

> Thou with thy gerland, wroght of rose and lilie,
> Thee mene I, mayde and martir, saint Cecilie.
> . . . . . .
> First wolde I yow the name of seint Cecilie
> Expoune, as men may in hir storie see:
> It is to seaye in English, 'hevenes lilie,'
> For pure chastnesse of virginitee;
> Or, for she whytnesse hadde of honestee,
> And grene of conscience, and of good fame
> The sote savour, 'lilie' was her name.

—*The Second Nonnes Tale* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, 649, 650]. Writing towards the end of Henry VII.'s reign, Bradshaw says;—

> Vyrgyns them folowed, crowned with the lyly,
> Among whome our Lady chefe president was;
> Some crowned with rooses for their great vyctory;
> Saynt Katheryne, Saynt Margerette, Saynt Agathas, &c.

—Life of St. Werburgh, in Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, ii. 377.

But the white lily so sweet-smelling, and holding within its silvery cup a bundle of filaments, from each of which there is hanging a large well-pollened yellow anther, belongs, as a church-

Redeemer, to help them (250) by her intercession. Deeming her the best, the highest of all created beings, those forefathers of (251) ours yielded unto Mary the maiden, sweet untainted Mary full of grace, that lofty preference. Because (252) with children's love towards a mother they loved her, for Christ's sake, before and beyond every other saint, they hoped that with a mother's yearnings she would look down upon and love them as her children, while in child-like trustfulness they leaned upon the strength of her entreaties with her Divine Son and Lord in their behalf. In so many ways, then, and with such untiring earnestness, was utterance given to these feelings, as to show

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symbol, more especially, for another strong reason, to the B. V. Mary. She it is of whom Christ took flesh and blood quickened with a soul—his humanity—to which he hypostatically joined his divinity: hence she is the Θεοτόκος of the Greek, the Deipara, the Dei genitrix of the Latin fathers. But the lily breathing round it such a delightful scent, with its unspotted shining white petals, and its golden stamens within, symbolises the glory of Christ's resurrection; for the sparkling whiteness of the flower betokens the outward brightness of his body now never more to die again, which he showed forth to his disciples, while he gave them to understand that there lives within it a soul shining with the golden light of the Godhead. Such were the beautiful thoughts of our own Beda: Lilium vero quod comitante odoris jucundissimi gratia candidum foris colorem, intus ostendit aurosum, apte gloriam Resurrectionis ejus insinuat, qui et corporis immortalitatem foris ostendit discipulis, et animam divina luce coruscam, simul sibi inesse perdocuit.—Beda, *De Templ. Salomonis*, xix. [*P.L.*, xci. 789]. Because she is the mother of Christ, not the fleur-de-lis, but the white garden lily, is one of the Blessed Virgin Mary's symbols; and because of her spotless maidenhood not only before, but also in, and after bringing forth her Divine Son, three of those lilies full blown ought to be figured at top of one upright green-leafed stalk.

The Warmth with which Catholic England invoked the B. V. Mary.

Breathings of love for blessed Mary arose, like fragrant clouds of incense, unto heaven from all this land; and while showing how the hearts of those who sent forth such sighs must have been (253) enkindled with a hallowed fire, they cast the cheering light and glow of holiness, and shed the sweetest odour upon everything around them; the liturgy and its prayers and ceremonies; cathedral as well as parish church with its storied windows, its paintings, its sculptured ornaments, the embroidered hangings for its walls and altars; popular devotions; personal adornments; household furniture; poetry, in its hymns, its minstrel-tales, its roundelays: all told of Mary; all set forth her praises; all taught that Christ's mother should be honoured above and invoked before every other saint.

Spread everywhere about those old service-books put forth for public worship in England—scattered through Missal,[68] and Portous,[69] and Manual,[70] and

[68] Of the sequences or rhymes sung between the chanting of the epistle and gospel on the higher feast-days, those dedicated to the memory of the Blessed Virgin Mary are full of invocations for her prayers. The sequence for the Annunciation, on the 25th of March, beginning with:—

Ave mundi spes, Maria;
Ave mitis, ave pia,
Ave plena gratia,

(254) Processional,[71] to say nothing of the "Hours" in honour of the B. V. Mary, will be met with (255)

ends in this supplication:—

O castitatis lilium.
Tuum precare Filium,
Qui salus est humilium,
Nec nos pro nostro vitio
In flebili judicio,
Subjiciat supplicio;
Sed nos tua sancta prece
Mundans a peccati fæce,
Collocet in lucis domo:
Amen dicat omnis homo.

—*Missale Sarum*, in Annunc. B. Mariæ [ed. Dickinson, ii. 728].

In our Lady's Mass for Advent, we have the sequence:—

Verbum bonum et suave
personemus illud ave,
per quod Christi fit conclave
Virgo mater filia.

* * * * *

Ave mater Verbi summi,
maris portus, signum dumi,
aromatum virga fumi,
angelorum domina:
Supplicamus, nos emunda,
emendatos nos commenda
tuo Nato, ad habenda
sempiterna gaudia.

—*Ibid.*, Officium beatæ Mariæ [ed. Dickinson, ii. 765,* 766*].

[69] The Sunday matins in the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary from Christmas to Candlemas have for their second lesson the invocation following:—Sancta Maria piarum piissima, intercede pro nobis sanctarum sanctissima: ut per te, virgo, nostra sumat precamina qui pro nobis ex te natus regnat super ethera, ut sua charitate nostra deleantur peccamina [*Sarum Breviary*, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, ii. 292]. Each festival of our Lady—her Conception, the eighth of December—the Purification, the second of February—the Annunciation, the twenty-fifth of March—the Assumption, the fifteenth of August—will furnish other instances from the Salisbury Portous of her invocation.

[70] In the litanies at the "Commendatio animarum," as well as in the different Masses "De Sancta Maria" in the *Manuale*, may

manifold beautiful invocations addressed to the mother of our Lord.[72]

be seen invocations of the Blessed Virgin Mary. [See Surt. Soc. *York Manual*, pp. 52*, 194, 195, 196, &c.]

[71] Besides the anthems to the Blessed Virgin Mary, sung at the procession, on Saturday and Sunday throughout the year, we have several others in the Salisbury Processional. The anthem for the Annunciation may be taken as a sample of the rest, for that earnest way in which the mother of God was called upon to pray for us, and is as follows :—

Christi virgo dilectissima, virtutum operatrix, opem fer miseris; subveni, Domina, clamantibus ad te jugiter; (*Tempore paschali*) Alleluia. *V.* Quoniam peccatorum mole premimur, et non est qui adjuvet. Subveni, &c.—*Processionale*, A.D. 1555, sig. v. iii. [ed. Henderson, 1882, pp. 144, 145]. That most celebrated of all those canticles sung to the Virgin, the Salve Regina, had, according to Sarum use, woven into it, at the end, several beautiful versicles, which are not to be found in the anthem as now set forth in the Roman breviary. It began: "Salve Regina (leaving out 'mater') misericordiæ"; and after "post hoc exsilium ostende," it added, "Virgo, mater ecclesiæ, Æterna porta gloriæ, Esto nobis refugium Apud Patrem et Filium. O clemens. Virgo clemens, virgo pia, Virgo dulcis, O Maria: Exaudi preces omnium Ad te pie clamantium. O pia. Funde preces tuo nato Crucifixo, vulnerato, Et pro nobis flagellato, Spinis puncto, felle potato. O mitis. Gloriosa Dei mater, Cujus natus extat pater, Ora pro nobis omnibus Qui tui memoriam agimus. O pulchra. Dele culpas miserorum, Terge sordes peccatorum, Dona nobis beatorum Vitam tuis precibus. O dulcis Maria."—*Ibid.*, sig. A. vi. b, at the end of the book [ed. Henderson, 1882, pp. 170, 171]. In the Salisbury "Hours," this other strophe is found :—Ut nos solvet a peccatis Pro amore sue matris; Et ad regnum claritatis Nos ducat rex pietatis. O clemens. O pia. O dulcis. O mitis. Maria salve.—*Hore*, &c., impresse per Regnault (A.D. 1526), fol. xxxiiii. b.

[72] Besides those hymns in honour of or to the B. V. Mary, which the printed Sarum service-books give us, many other such compositions, some the works of our poetical countrymen, may be found in codices written out by an English hand as well as for use in England. A psalter in my possession, and noticed before (p. 4), affords the following :—

LAUS ET ORATIO DE SANCTA MARIA.

Omni die dic Marie mea laudes anima,
Ejus festa ejus gesta cole splendidissima.

(256) Like the rest of Christendom, Catholic England, besides singing the praises of Mary, kept,

Contemplare et mirare ejus celsitudinem,
Dic felicem genitricem, dic beatam virginem.
Ipsam cole ut de mole criminum te liberet.
Hanc appella ne procella vitiorum superet.
Hec persona nobis bona contulit celestia,
Hec regina nos divina illustravit gratia.
Lingua mea dic trophea virginis puerpere,
Que inflictum maledictum miro mutat munere.
Sine fine dic regine mundi laudum cantica,
Ejus bona semper sona semper illam predica.
Omnes mei sensus ei personate gloriam,
Frequentate tam beate virginis memoriam.
Nullus certe tam diserte extat eloquentie,
Qui condignos promat ŷmnos ejus excellentie.
Omnes laudent unde gaudent matrem Dei virginem.
Nullus fingat quod attingat hujus celsitudinem.
Nemo dicet quantum licet laudans ejus merita.
Ejus cuncta sint creata dicioni subdita.
Sed necesse quod prodesse piis constat mentibus,
Ut intendam et impendam me ipsius laudibus.
Quamvis sciam quod Mariam nemo digne predicet,
Tamen vanus vel insanus est qui illam reticet.
Cujus vita erudita disciplina celica
Argumenta et figmenta destruxit heretica.
Cujus mores tamquam flores exornant ecclesiam,
Actiones et sermones miram dant fragrantiam.
Hec amanda et laudanda nobis specialiter,
Venerari et precari decet illam jugiter.
Ipsam posco quam cognosco posse prorsus omnia,
Ut evellat et repellat sunt quecumque noxia.
Ipsa donet ut quod monet natus ejus faciam,
Ut finita carnis vita letus hunc aspiciam.
Eve crimen nobis limen paradŷsi clauserat,
Hec dum credit et obedit celi claustrum reserat.
O cunctarum feminarum decus atque gloria,
Quam electam et provectam scimus super omnia.
Clemens audi tue laudi quos instantes conspicis.

Ad Eandem.

O regina huc inclina pie mentis lumina
Et excusa prece fusa servulorum crimina.

as the (257) Anglo-Saxons used, several days of the year holy in her remembrance: it did more,—

Nam sublimis facta nimis manes juxta filium,
Celsa sede intercede pro salute omnium.
Nos conforta et reporta munus indulgentie,
Ut reformes nos enormes ad statum justitie.
Meis caris largiaris jam defunctis veniam,
Et cunctorum comodorum his qui vivunt copiam.
Illis mecum dona precum tuarum suffragia,
Ut moderna et eterna fruamur letitia.
Sustentare me dignare benedicta domina
Ne dimissum in abÿssum gravis trahat sarcina.
Da medelam et tutelam cunctis te laudantibus;
Pacem bonam et coronam cum supernis civibus.
Pater Deus, Fili Deus, Deus alme Spiritus,
Per eterna nos guberna Deus unus secula.

Item de Eadem.

O felicem genitricem cujus sacra viscera
Meruere continere continentem ethera.
Felix pectus in quo tectus rex virtutum latuit.
Felix venter quo clementer carnem Deus induit.
Felix sinus quo divinus requievit Spiritus.
Felix alvus quo fit salvus homo fraude perditus.
Felix thorus et decorus istius puerpere,
Quam maritus ut est ritus non presumpsit tangere.
O sacrate et beate manus atque brachia,
Que paverunt et vexerunt per quem vigunt omnia.
O mamilla cujus stilla fuit ejus pabulum.
Qui dans terre fructus ferre pascit omne seculum.
Hac in domo Deus homo fieri disposuit.
Hic absconsus pulcher sponsus vestem suam induit.
Hic natura vinci jura novo stupet ordine
Rerum usus est exclusus pariente virgine.
. . . . . .

John Garland, who (it is likely) was a Londoner, and wrote towards the middle of the thirteenth century, sings, in what he meant to be a sequence for Mass, the Virgin's praises thus:—

Gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ cujus præconia Missas ad sollempnes ipsius hac prosa vel consimili viri religiosi decantant quæ proprietates aulæ continet; et exaltatur cantus et humiliatur secundum partes aulæ et secundum proprietates et significationes vocabulorum.

for while in (258) almost every cathedral, and large collegiate establishment, or minster,

Aula vernat virginalis,
Cujus pars est integralis,
Tectum, pes, et paries.

Jungit hæc in unum tria,
Trinus unus in Maria
Juncti pollet series.

Christus, petra, fundamentum,
Tenax tecti tegumentum,
Obumbrator Spiritus.

Parietem posse pacis
Stipat ut procellis acris
Obviet oppositus.

Parit tectum architectum,
Aula regem cujus legem
Sua curat curia.

Rubent rosæ speciosæ,
Fundamento pavimento,
Munda candent lilia.

In se formas angelorum,
Fert berillus, et decorum
Parietem circuit.

Cum saphiro stat piropus,
Virginale signat, opus
Caritatem innuit.

In cortina copulatur
Cocco bissus, et arcatur
Cum iacincto purpura.

Sol stat focus in hoc cœlo,
Sol in stella stellæ velo,
Vincit maris murmura.

Purpuratur dum sacratur
Virgo bissus humilis
In doctrina stat divina
Est iacincto similis.

Designatur quod amatur
Et quod amat firmiter

St. Mary Mass,

or Mass offered up to God in honour of the B. (259) Virgin, was every morning sung at earliest dawn with all ritual solemnity, accompanied by the (260) organ and choristers chanting the sweetest and most learned music of those times, known under (261) the name of discant, or pricksong;[73]

Cocco tincto qui iacincto
Connubit perenniter.

Domus aromatica
Nardo, thure, calamo,
Myrra, cedro, mistica
Cinnamomo, balsamo.

Funda nos in Filio,
In Patre suffulcias,
In Sancti suffragio
Spiritus, operias. Amen.

—John de Garlandia, *Commentarius Liber*, fol. 207. MS. marked 385, in the library of C. C. C. C., and noticed before in this work. [See vol. i. p. 304.]

[73] All over our ecclesiastical documents lie scattered proofs of the Mary-Mass, and of them a few have been brought together here.

Pro annuali et perpetua pensione soluta iiij^{or} clericis cum choristis ad cantandam quotidie Missam Beate Marie Virginis in capella de Salve infra ecclesiam Cathedralem juxta ordinacionem et fundacionem Richardi Pore quondam episcopi Sarum (*Valor. Ecclesiast.*, ii. 85). Of St. Alban's we learn: Hic etiam felicis memoriæ Abbas Willelmus (*c.* A.D. 1214), videns quod in omnibus nobilibus ecclesiis Angliæ Missa de Beata Virgine ad notam solemniter cotidiana decantatur . . . constituit, etiam ex consensu et beneplacito totius conventus, in perpetuis temporibus sancivit perduraturum ut cotidie Missa de beata Virgine solemniter ad notam celebretur (Matt. Paris, *Vit. Abb. S. Albani*, p. 80) [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 284, 285]. Campanam quoque sonorissimam ipsi officio specialiter assignatam, ab Episcopo Johanne consecratam et nomine Sanctæ Mariæ intitulatam, constituit cotidie vice triplicata pulsari tempes-

many a little parish church, too, had supplied it, by the devotion (262) of the people, its own Mary-

tive ad convocandum ministros ad hoc assignatos, videlicet monachos sex . . . et alios Christi fideles et beatæ Mariæ pronos ac devotos ipsi ministraturos et pro prosperitate ecclesiæ ac propria supplicaturos (*ibid.*, p. 81). [*R.S.*, 286.] One of those four beautiful palls given by Henry III. (A.D. 1256) to St. Alban's was to be hung up at our Lady's altar, where Mass was daily sung :—Optulit ecclesiæ quatuor pallas . . . aliam quoque altari sanctæ Mariæ, videlicet ad pendendum ubi canitur cotidie (Matt. Paris, *Hist.*, p. 626) [*R.S.*, lvii. v. 574]. John de Pontys, bishop of Winchester, in the foundation deed of his college of St. Elizabeth (*c.* A.D. 1300), in that city, ordained that :—Singulis siquidem diebus ad tardius in aurora diei mane surgant (capellani et clerici) et capellam ipsam ingressi, matutinas beatæ Virginis submissa voce aperte et distincte simul dicant, et postea matutinas de die cum nota. Post primam matutinarum diei, celebrent missam gloriosæ Virginis cum nota et solempnitate decenti, secundum usum et consuetudinem Saresburiensis ecclesiæ (*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1340). One of the abbots of Glastonbury—assignavit (A.D. 1322) officio sacristariæ singulis annis viginti marcas pro sustentacione quatuor sacerdotum bene cantancium, qui cum duobus de Galilæa antiquitus ordinatis, et aliis duobus per sacristam et elemosinarium exhibendis, in capella beatæ virginis, superpelliciis et almiciis induti, cotidie de melodico cantu deservient, et venient in forma prædicta ad missas chori solempnes (*Johannes Glaston.*, p. 268). The founder of the collegiate church of Tonge says:—Item volumus et ordinamus quod omni die per annum, exceptis tribus diebus proximis ante Pascha, dicatur Missa de S. Maria in capella ex parte boreali dictæ ecclesiæ (de Tonge) cum nota vel sine nota, per dispositionem custodis, &c.—*Statuta et Ordin. Ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Tonge*, in *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1408. John Baret of Bury (A.D. 1463) ordained thus : I will y^t^ on the day of my intirment be songge a messe of prikked song at Seynt Marie auter in wurshippe of oure Lady at vii of ye clokke, &c.—*Wills of Bury St. Edmund's* (C. S.), p. 17. The singers were accompanied with the organ ; for the same good Christian says :—I wille y^t^ eche man y^t^ synggit prykked songe on ye daye of my enterment at oure Ladye's messe haue ij*d.* and ye pleyors at ye orgenys ij*d.* and eche child j*d.*—*Ibid.*, 18. We enact, ordain, and will, that every day for ever, saving on Good Friday, certain Masses be devoutly celebrated in the chapel. The second Mass shall be that of St. Mary, after the practice of the church of Sarum (*Statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford*, p. 119). While Cardinal Wolsey's ordinances for all

Mass priest who offered up daily the holy sacrifice for this same purpose.[74] (263) Hence, however small the holy pile, it had its altar in honour of the Virgin. In our cathedrals and (264) larger minsters, this warm love for the mother of our Lord gave rise to an architectural feature in the building, as beautiful as it was beseemly, and almost peculiar to England. At the furthest east

the houses of canons regular throughout England forbade the use, in their choir-service, of figured music, or as it was then called, Prick-song, they allowed it at Masses of our Blessed Lady sung in her chapel:—Nos igitur districtius inhibemus, ne cantus fractus vel divisus, "Prick-song" vulgariter et Anglice dictus, in choris canonicorum amodo decantetur, aut decantari permittatur. Permittimus tamen quod Missas de Beata Virgine, de nomine Jesu, et consimiles, quæ extra chorum conventualem quasi in omnibus hujus regni monasteriis solenniter cani solent per viros seculares etiam laicos ac pueros, cum cantu fracto seu diviso, et organis decantari facere valeant (Wilkins, *Concil.*, iii. 686). "Mary Mass"—"St. Mary Mass"—are expressions of commonest occurrence in Sir Thomas More's works.

[74] John Notyngham of Bury ordains thus in his will:—Lego capellano parochiali dictæ ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ iij*s.* iiij*d.* Item lego capellano qui dicitur Seyntemary priest in eadem ecclesia iij*s.* iiij*d.* (*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmund's*, p. 6). The gilds in the parish often helped to keep up the Mary-Mass, as we learn from that valuable work, *Illustrations of the manners and expenses of ancient times in England, &c., from the Accompts of Churchwardens*:—Paid (A.D. 1520) to the Pyshe (parish) for Lady Mess, 6*s.* 8*d.* (p. 309): for a candyll of i lb. for Laydy Mase, 6*d.* (*ibid.*, 312). In all the great families of England there was a Mary-Mass priest; thus among "my Lordis chaplains ande preists in houshold," we find "a preist for singing of our Ladies Mass in the chappell daily" (*The Northumberland Household Book*, p. 323). Bishop Grandison (A.D. 1339), in his "Ordinatio fundationis ecclesiæ collegiatæ S. Mariæ de Otery," makes the following distinction between the parish priest, the morrow-mass priest, and the Mary-Mass priest: Unusque alius presbyter parochialis, et alius matutinalis, et unus qui capellanus beate Marie nuncupetur.—Oliver, *Monasticon Diœcesis Exoniensis*, p. 265.

end, behind both choir and high altar, stood, and yet stands, what to this day is called the "Lady chapel," in most instances a lightsome and comely work—meet symbol of her, the morning-star of our redemption.[75]

(265) Thus in England time was when notes of praise arose from earth to heaven at the first streak of dawn, not only from wood and wold, poured forth by soulless birds of the air; but there went up strains too of worshipping and thankful song from out the thronged city, and the busy town (wherein church-steeples were then taller, and more beautiful, and more numerous than work-shop chimneys), and from out the smallest village: time was when the chiming of St. Mary's bells at

[75] I cannot but think that the Lady chapel, for so the one named after the B. V. Mary was and still is called, may have been built at the east end of the choir and behind the high altar, for the purpose of symbolizing her as the morning star which harbingered day in a ghostly meaning. In the hymns and prayers written in her honour, and to ask her intercession, our Blessed Lady is hailed as the morning star, which can be said of her only in as much as her birth was the dawn of Christ's coming into the world as man. The old Italian painters give her a star upon the right shoulder over her blue mantle. In one of those beautiful books written for our forefathers, we read:—The thyrde interpretacyon of this holy name Maria, is illuminatrix, that is to saye, an illumyner or a gyver of lyght. And lyke as the mornynge cometh before the sonne rysynge, and divideth the nyght from the day; so the Virgyn Mary rose, as the mornynge before the sonne of iustyce, and divided the state of grace from the state of synne, the chylder of God, from the chylder of derknes. Wherupon the chirche syngeth to her prayse that her gloryous lyfe gave lyght to the worlde and illumyned all the chirche, and congregacyons of faythfull people.—*Pilgrymage of Perfeccion*, fol. clxxx. Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. MCCCCCXXXI.

waking day awakened men and bade them come to the house (266) of God and sing His praises; and, like the cherubim and seraphim, cry out to one another, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth," and ask the intercession of the mother who once bore that son of David in her womb. Oft as it wandered by, the breeze that wafted the sound of those morning bells to the sick one's sleepless bed, dropped health from its wings upon the poor wearied soul: often has the dying sinner —often has the stern iron-hearted man, like our first William, been bent and softened, and made to feel and weep, by those same bells, which, to his seeming, rang with thousand-tongues, and every tongue had its own quick saying unto his ears; and if they spoke of saints and heaven,—if they gave out mutterings about sin and hell, softly too did they whisper of saints' love and heaven's forgiveness, and hearten him, while yet time was, to crave mercy of Jesus, and help from Mary.[76]

Those forefathers of ours who loved to behold beauty all over God's house, particularly loved to (267) see beauty shining about St. Mary's chapel,

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[76] Rex (Guillelmus) sonum maioris signi audivit in metropolitana basilica. Percunctante eo quid sonaret, responderunt ministri: "Domine, hora prima jam pulsatur in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ." Tunc rex cum summa devotione oculos ad cœlum erexit, et sursum manibus extensis dixit: "Dominæ meæ, sanctæ Dei genitrici, Mariæ me commendo, ut ipsa suis sanctis precibus me reconciliet carissimo filio suo, Domino nostro, Jesu Christo." Et his dictis, protinus expiravit.—Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecc. Hist.*, vii. 12 [*P.L.*, clxxxviii. 551, 552].

so that whether it was a building by itself, as in our cathedrals, or only a little side nook, as in our parish churches, the one wish quickened them to make it beautiful. While then, rich stained glass,[77] wall-painting, embroidered hangings for the altar and the space around,[78] and illuminated images (268) were all brought to adorn it, instances could have been met where even a little chime of bells was hung up nigh St.

B. V. M. AND CHILD

[77] Of the chapel of the B. V. Mary in Buxton church, Blomefield (*Norfolk*, vi. 447) tells us that there is in the middle pane of the east window the Assumption of the Virgin, with many praying to her, saying:—*Virgo singularis inter omnes mitis, nos culpis solutos, mites fac et castos;* an angel holds this on a label, *Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum;* another with *Sancta Regina celorum.* The gracefulness and dignified simplicity of those figures of the B. V. Mary and her Divine Son which once looked down upon the beholder, in so many of our churches, may be fancied, on looking at the few which have been spared, especially the one in the east window of St. Michael's, Oxford, and engraved as the frontispiece to "The Calendar of the Anglican Church." [See picture above.]

[78] The hangings for the altar, and wrought with subjects of the B. V. Mary's death and assumption, given to Durham Cathedral by Bp. Bury, have already been noticed (i. 186). At Aix-en-

Mary's altar, and made to play, not outside, but within the holy pile, at the sackering at Mass.[79] Although in the chancel of every church, however small, throughout England, a fair statue of the B. V. Mary stood upon its own bracket[80] on the northern side of the high altar,[81] (269) still it was in the chapel bearing her name that her finest and most embellished image might be found. Here was she shown to the devout

Provence there still exist the fine arrases which Prior Goldston (*c.* A.D. 1495) had done, with the B. Virgin's life figured on them, to hang up about the choir in Canterbury Cathedral, on great festivals :—Tres enim pannos pulcherrimos opere de Arysse subtiliter intextos, ortum Virginis cum vita et obitu ejusdem clare et splendide configurantes, in parte chori australi certis temporibus anni fecit (Thomas Goldston) appendi.—*Hist. Priorum Ecc. Cant.*, in Wharton, *Anglia Sac.*, i. 148.

[79] I wille y^t^ John Elys serche sewrly and owyr se the chymes at Seynt Marie awt̄, and the chymes in ye stepyl, therto make a newe barell, &c. . . . And I wil that the berere of the paxbrede longyng to Seynt Marie awt̄ haue yeerly viij*d.* so he take hede to kepe my grave clene, the chymes, and Seynt Marie awter, to wynde vp the plomme of led as ofte as nedith and to do the chymes goo at ye sacry of the Messe of Ihū, at the sacry of Seynt Marie messe on the sunday, and in lik wyse at the sacry of oure ladyes messe y^t^ Seynt Marie preest seye or do seye for me and for my fadir and modir o day in the weke.—*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmund's*, pp. 19, 29.

[80] Among several other liturgical appliances which the Council of Exeter (A.D. 1287), required to be found in every church, were :—Imago Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, et Sancti loci ejusdem.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 139.

[81] The right hand of the rood is always stretched out to the north, and as it is piously believed that our Blessed Lady stood beneath the right hand of her Son whilst he hung upon the cross, her image is always placed on the north. In one of her "Revelations," the ankress of Norwich, Juliana (A.D. 1373), says :—"Our good Lord looked down on the right side, and brought to my mind where our Lady stood in the time of His Passion, and said," &c.—*Revelations of Divine Love, &c.* [pp. 52, 53, ed. Warrack, 1901].

crowd under one or other of the circumstances of her life. In this place, Mary might be seen kneeling as she heard from Gabriel, "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee;" in another, the beholder saw the girl-like maiden-mother bowed down before the crib, worshipping her child cradled there whom she had just brought forth, when left all alone amid the dark stillness of the stable, while Joseph, now come back, had gone forth seeking about Bethlehem for a light and food.[82] Often was she (270) represented enthroned[83] as the mild happy mother smiling on as she held her sweet babe, the man-God, in her arms, that fondled Him with more than this earth's love. Whether figured standing

[82] In many of our larger churches often might be found a chapel called after our Lady of the crib; for so we must understand, I think, the word "de Gesina"—"lying in," or "being brought to bed"—in the Salisbury Cathedral Accompts, the manuscript of which is now in Jesus College Library, Oxford. Of the "Statutes and Ordenances" made by Henry V. for his army when he invaded France, one entitled "For women that lie in Gesem" commands "that no maner of man be so hardy to goe into no chamber or lodging wher that any woman lieth in gesem, her to robbe, &c. ne for to make non affray wher through she and her childe myght be in any disease or dispare." (Nicolas, *Battle of Agincourt*, Append., p. 38.) Altars named "La Madonna del presepio" are of frequent occurrence throughout Italy. Among the smashings of old church-ornaments in Suffolk, by William Dowsing, were, at Benacre, "one crucifix and the Virgin Mary twice, with Christ in her arms, and Christ lying in the manger, and the three kings coming to Christ with their presents."—*Journal of William Dowsing*, p. 26, given at the end of *The Rich Man's Duty*, Oxford, 1840.

[83] A great image of our Lady sitting in a chair, silver and gilt, having upon her head a crown, silver and gilt, set with stones and pearls, and her child sitting upon her knee with one crown upon his head with a diadem set with pearls and stones, &c.—*Inventory of Lincoln Cathedral* (A.D. 1536), in *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1279.

or seated, almost always did she wear a royal crown made of gold or silver gilt, sparkling with jewels :[84] (271) Mary has ever been deemed by Christendom to be the queen of saints and angels. For the greater adornment of the image, our high-born dames would send and have hung about its neck those strings of precious stones upon which their wont had been to pray that prayer to the Virgin called "Our Lady's psalter," or the "rosary," while the lowlier citizens' wives bequeathed their coral beads for this same purpose.[85] Not unfrequently, however, was the B. V. Mary presented to the people's eyes crownless, ungemmed, sorrowful, forlorn, as our "Lady of Pity"[86]—the mother

[84] Item tres coronæ argenteæ deauratæ, cum diversis lapidibus preciosis ornatæ, viz., una pro beata Maria et alia pro Filio, et tertia pro sancto Edwardo; viz. in corona beatæ Mariæ deficiunt quinque lapides, et in corona Filii deficit unus flos delicatus, &c. (*Registrum Ornam. Capellæ Regiæ de Wyndesore*, A.D. 1385, in *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1367). Isabel, Countess of Warwick, says:—To our Lady of Caversham I bequeath a crown of gold made of my chain, and other broken gold in my cabinet (*Test. Vet.*, i. 240). Among "the jewells that longith (A.D. 1473) unto oure Lady chirche withyn the town of Sandewiche," there was "a crown of sylver and gylt for our Lady yn the hygh autre" (Boys, *Sandwich*, 374). Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick, was crowned king by the bishop of Meath, with a diadem taken from a statue of the B. V. Mary, in a church in Ireland.

[85] For Godiva's bequest to Coventry, see before, p. 7. Beatrix Krikemer bequeathed her best beads to hang about our Lady's neck in St. Stephen's church on good (gaude) days (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iv. 153). For the same purpose Alice Carre left her coral beads to the beautifying the image of our Lady in the festefull days.—*Ibid.*, 154, 163.

[86] Ric[d]. Coo leaves 5 lbs of wax to our "Lady of Pite's" light in Ashill church (Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ii. 349). There was a St. Mary of Pity in Hingham (*ibid.*, 423); a St. Mary de la Pity at

weeping over that same Divine Child, that Son of hers full-grown but dead, just unnailed from the cross, stretched, (272) blood-stained and naked, on the ground at her feet, with His wounded head upon her lap, bedewed by the tears trickling down her own wan cheeks.[87]

To symbolise the light of glory in which she now lives in heaven, as well as to tell the joy felt by men here below at her happiness above, and the honour which they wished to pay to her memory, lamps[88] and waxen tapers were kept burning

Fakenham (*ibid.*, vii. 96). Among the royal jewels in the treasury in Henry VIII.'s reign was:—A tabernacle of golde w^t^ our Lady of Pyty w^t^ her sonne in her lappe w^t^ ii angells behynde, &c.—*Kalendars and Invent. of the Exchequer*, ii. 274.

[87] As before observed (vol. ii. p. 175), whether of wood or stone, all images set up in our old English churches were painted and gilt. To help such a work was what our forefathers loved. John Baret of Bury (A.D. 1463) says:—I yeve and be qwethe x. marks to the peynting rerdoos and table at Seynt Marie avter of the story of Magnificat. . . . It. I wil that the ymage of oure lady that Robert Pygot peynted be set vp ageyn the peleer next ye pcloos of Seynt Marie awter, &c.—*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmund's*, 19. Nic. Callough gave a legacy to paint the Virgin's image, &c.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iv. 153. Sir R. Throckmorton, by his will (A.D. 1518), devised that the image of our Lady should be set on the north side at the end of the altar in the south isle, and the image of the angel Gabriel on the same side of the isle, at the pillar between the isle and the chancel (at Coughton), with a roll in his hand of greeting, looking towards our Lady—which images to be richly painted and gilded (Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ii. 751). After telling us that "the ymage of the patron of the churche must stand on the ryght hande of the auter," Horman says:—The ymage shulde be wel peynted that it shulde make men fayne to loke apon it: and styere to devocion.—*Vulgaria*, fol. xvi., London, Pynson.

[88] Noverit universitas vestra me . . . concessisse, dedisse . . . altari beatæ Mariæ Virginis ubi missa in honore ipsius quotidie solemniter celebratur, annuum redditum sex solidorum . . . ad unam lampadem ardentem ibidem jugiter die ac nocte invenien-

(273) day and night before the B. V. Mary's image wherever it might be in the church.[89] Of Evesham (274) we learn from one of its monks,—"Sothely there were in this same church iii or iiii images of our blessed Saint Mary, having in her lap the image of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in form of a little babe, and they were set at every altar, right well painted, and fair arrayed with gold and divers other colors; the which shewed to the people that beheld hem great devotion. And before every image hung a lamp; the which, after the custom of that same church, were wont

dam: et annuum redditum duodecim denariorum ad inveniendum luminare ad præsepe ante dictum altare nocte Natalis Domini, et omnibus festis principalibus (*Carta W. prioris de Wymundham, &c.*, in *Mon. Angl.*, iii. 335). In some places the custom was to burn a cresset by night, a lamp by day, before the Blessed Virgin Mary's altar (*ibid.*, ii. 40). Endowments were often made to keep up these lights: Pro sustent' cujusd' lampad' ardent' coram imagine beate Marie in dicta eccl' (Cathedrali Wellensi).—*Valor. Eccles.*, i. 139.

[89] Pensionem quinquaginta solidorum ad sustentacionem unius cerei jugiter ardentis ante imaginem Sanctæ Mariæ virginis, in vetusta ecclesia Glastoniæ assignavit Henricus abbas (A.D. 1126). —John Glaston., *Hist. de Rebus Glaston.*, p. 166. The pious John Baret of Bury (A.D. 1463) says:—It' I wil that the ymage of oure Lady that Robert Pygot peynted be set vp ageyn the peleer next ye pcloos of Seynt Marie awter with the baas redy therto and a hovel with pleyn sydes comyng down to the baas, and in the myddes of the baas my candylstykke of laten with a pyke to be set afore a tapir I have assygned unto ye v. taperes longgyng to the natyvite gylde wiche stant alofte before the aungelys, with chymes to be sette abowte our Lady at the peler (*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmund's*, 19). In his will (A.D. 1467) Baldwin Coksedge says:—Lego unā vaccā sufficient' p ijbs cereis ardent' corā jmagine b'e M'^e^ in cancella sci Petri eccīe de Felsh^a^m (*ibid.*, p. 44). On the higher festivals of the year, two wax tapers were kept burning during service-time before the Blessed Virgin Mary's image at Salisbury Cathedral.—*Use of Sarum*, i. 4, 6.

to be lighted at every principal feast through all the year, both by night and by day, enduring from the first even-song unto the second even-song aforesaid, the foresaid images of our Blessed Lady Saint Mary."[90] In some places the custom was to wreath these tapers with flowers.[91]

(275) But if day-dawn began, so twilight ended by prayer put up to Christ in reverence of His beloved mother; for our people loved to flock and hear sung, in sweet music,

An Evening Hymn to the Virgin

at her altar, in her chapel, or beside her image,[92] (276) that at such times usually had burning

[90] *Revelations of a Monk of Evesham*, cap. xlvii., in Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, ii. 25.

[91] Unam elegantissimam Mariolam quam magister Walterus de Colecestria opere sculpsit studiosissimo, ecclesiæ nostræ (de S. Albano) præsentavit (abbas Gulielmus, *c.* A.D. 1214), quam quidem fecit ab episcopo consecrari. Cereum quoque, quem floribus consuevimus redimire, constituit accendi ante nobilem Mariolam, diebus ac noctibus festorum præcipuorum et in processione quæ fit in commemoratione ejusdem.—Matt. Paris, *Vit. Abb. S. Albani*, p. 81 [*R.S.*, xxviii., i. 286].

[92] John Barnet, bishop of Bath and Wells, bestowed lands upon St. Paul's Cathedral, London (A.D. 1365), on condition "that after mattens celebrated in the quire every day, and those present thereat gone out, an anthem of our Lady, scil. 'Nesciens mater,' or some other solemn one, suitable to the time, should be sung before the image" (of the Blessed Virgin), &c.—*Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 14. Sir John Pulteney, knight, left the yearly sum of x^{s}. for the choristers of the same church, on condition that they should, every day, after complin ended in the choir, go into the chapel of his building there, and sing an anthem of the Blessed Virgin, before her image there, solemnly with note, &c. (*ibid.*, p. 22). By the statutes for the collegiate church of Whitington College,

before it five tapers, indicative of her five joys.[93] In our (277) universities this same heart-softening

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London, it is ordained that : Diebus etiam ferialibus per annum in sero, circa vel post solis occasum, quando pauperes artifices et vicini circa ecclesiam commorantes a laboribus et officiis suis cessaverunt, et impedimentum rationabile non occurrat, capellani, clerici, et choristæ collegii domi existentes, post tintinnationem unius parvæ campanæ ad hoc ordinatæ, conveniant in capella S. Mariæ matris Salvatoris, infra dictam ecclesiam, et ibidem cantent solempniter et devote in honorem ejusdem Salvatoris et matris suæ unam antiphonam cum versiculis et collecta competentibus, &c.—*Mon. Angl.*, vii. 741. Not only our old Catholic countrymen's strong love for this religious service, but those feelings to which through it they sought to give vent, are well set forth by Chaucer, while making the little boy ask his older schoolfellow thus about another such church hymn, the "Alma Redemptoris":—

> Noght wiste he what this Latin was to seye,
> For he so yong and tendre was of age;
> But on a day his felaw gan he preye
> T' expounden him this song in his langage,
> Or telle him why this song was in usage:
> . . . . . .
> His felaw, which that elder was than he,
> Answerde him thus: "this song, I have herd seye,
> Was maked of our blisful lady free,
> Hir to salue, and eek hir for to preye
> To been our help. and socour whan we deye."
> . . . . . .
> "And is this song maked in reverence
> Of Criste's moder?" seyde this innocent;
> "Now certes, I wol do my diligence
> To conne it al, eor Cristemasse is went
> . . . . . .
> I wol it conne, our ladie for to honoure."
> —*The Prioresses Tale* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, 499].

To have the hymn to our Blessed Lady, the *Salve Regina*, sung every evening throughout the year—a few nights in holy week excepted—and to find the wax tapers which were lighted during this short service, gilds used to be established, and priests and choristers kept in most of our large churches.—See vol. ii., p. 356, of this work.

devotion was as fondly cherished, but followed in another though not less striking manner. Often the inmates of a college there, were, by its founder's statutes, required to meet together in their common hall every Saturday evening, and upon the eve of every feast of the Blessed Virgin, and chant the anthem of that season, in her honour.[94] So liked indeed (278) throughout the

[93] In his foundation-deed for the chantry of St. Thomas the Martyr at Sandwich, Thomas Elys ordained (A.D. 1392) that its three chaplains should find five wax tapers of five pounds' weight for the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to be lighted during the singing of the *Salve Regina:* Item volumus et ordinamus, quod predicti capellani manutenebunt quinque cereos cere super beate Marie virginis altare dicte ecclesie Sancti Petri, ad ardendum tantummodo dum antiphona que dicitur *Salve regina* cantabitur, ponderantes v li. (Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, 192). *Item.* I gif half an acr of lond . . . to find yerely evermore, v. gawdyes brennyng before our Lady, in the chancel of St. John Baptist, at every antiphon of our Lady, and at every feste of our Lady, at maesse of the same feste, evermore: howbeit I will that whosoever shall hold my place and londes, shall have the occupation of the said lond and the keepyng of the said v. gawdyes, and they onys to be renewed in every yere (W. Keye's will, in Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 273). Hence we find that the tapers themselves, from being meant to commemorate the Virgin's five joys, were called "gawdyes" from the Latin word "gaude," which begins the hymn in memory of these five joys (see note, further on). William Berdewell, in his will (which he begins with "Jesu mercye"—"Mary helpe"), says: "I besette to the lytys on the candlestekys afore the hey awtyr xs. & to the feywe joys afore our Lady odyr xs."—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 303.

[94] In the Statutes which he drew up for St. Mary Magdalen College, of his building and endowing at Oxford, Bp. Wayneflete says: Our pleasure is, that on every Saturday throughout the year, and on all the eves of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, after complin, all and each of the said fellows, and scholars, and ministers of our chapel, do devoutly perform among themselves in the common hall, by note, an antiphone in honour of the said glorious Virgin.—*Statutes of Magdalen College, &c.*, ed. Ward,

land was this religious practice, that among those things taught the poorest children at every village school (and there have always been village-schools in England [95]), one was to learn by heart the words

p. 97). The same ordinance is to be found among Bp. Fox's Statutes for his college of Corpus Christi at Oxford, p. 93.

[95] During the Anglo-Saxon period there must have been children's schools all over the country, kept by the priesthood, and free to every one. This we know from the *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, which say: Mass-priests ought always to have at their houses a school of disciples, and if any good man desire to commit his little ones to them for instruction, they ought very gladly to receive them and kindly teach them. . . . They ought not, however, for that instruction, to desire anything from their relations, except what they shall be willing to do for them of their own accord (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 415). If not before, at least after the coming hither of the Normans, the custom was to keep the village school in the parish church. This we gather from a little tale, told so prettily (as is his wont) by Reginald the Durham monk, of the young urchin who, to get off his lessons and over a dreaded flogging, threw into the river Tweed the key of Northam church in which he went to school: Est igitur in villa prædicta (Northam) ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti nominis honore ab antiquo fundata, in qua, de more nunc satis solito et cognito, pueri quondam vacabant studiis. . . . Unde timoris aculeo quidam puerorum terebratus, Haldene nomine, cœpit anxius secum et secretius, timore coactus puerili, cogitare qualiter hujusmodi plagas et verberum pœnas posset declinando evadere. Tandem igitur animo concepit quod clavem ecclesiæ Beati Cuthberti stulta temeritate corriperet, et sub celeritate in Thueodum flumen, nullo hominum avertente, projiceret. . . . Sacerdos denique, vespertini temporis hora instante clavem ecclesiæ a puero requirere, &c. —*De Admir. S. Cuthberti*, pp. 149, 150. From another valuable work of Reginald's we find that in these schools the boys learned church-song: Postea ad ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ infra urbis mœnia sita est, transmigravit (S. Godricus); quia ibi pueris litterarum prima elementa discentibus interesse delegit. Ubi ea quæ prius didicit, arctius memoriæ infixit, et quædam quæ antea non cognoverat, ibi audiendo, legendo, atque psallendo apprehendit; nam ea quæ pueris sæpius eadem repetentibus audivit, tenacius memoriæ infigere curavit. . . . In brevi igitur tantisper perfecerat, quod in psalmis, hymnis, et orationibus non-

of the "Alma Redemptoris mater," and the "Salve Regina," and to sing the music of those beautiful hymns, as well as much (279) of the other chanted parts of the public service. There were, however,

Other Liturgical and Religious Practices

which Catholic England followed

In Honour of the Blessed Virgin.

Ever since the Saxon Alcuin's times to the present (280) moment, the Church has looked upon the last day of the week as meetest for more particular

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nullis, quantum sibi sufficere credebat, firmus et certus exstiterat. —*Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, pp. 59, 60.

The following, we may be sure, is a truthful picture of what all English village schools were at the time when Chaucer, who drew it, lived:—

> A litel scole of Cristen folk ther stood
> Doun at the ferther ende, in which ther were
> Children an heep, y-comen of Cristen blood,
> That lerned in that scole yeer by yere
> Swich maner doctrine as men used there,
> That is to seyn, to singen and to rede,
> As smale children doon in hir chilhede.
> . . . . . .
> This litel child, his litel book lerninge,
> As he sat in the scole at his prymer,
> He *Alma redemptoris* herde singe,
> As children lerned hir antiphoner;
> And, as he dorste, he drough him ner and ner,
> And herkned ay the wordes and the note,
> Til he the firste vers coude al by rote.
>
> —*The Prioresses Tale* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, 499].

devotion towards St. Mary.[96] The holy sacrifice was offered (281) up to heaven in her honour; the evening hymn in some of our colleges was sung for this same object.[97] At St. Alban's Abbey a solemn procession was made all about that minster in commemoration of this queen of heaven, and to her altar, every Saturday.[98] Under like feelings there arose a custom, amid all ranks, of vowing to keep for a certain length of time a rigid fast each Saturday.[99]

Among those who had wealth enough, it became no unusual thing to bestow upon some church, as an offering unto Christ, the image in gold or silver of His beloved mother;[1] and in some places, York Cathedral for instance, the rubric was for the canon (282) who sang high Mass, to carry every day with his own hands, as he went in procession from the

[96] See vol. i., pp. 63, 64, of this work.

[97] See the foregoing note 94, p. 226.

[98] Hic (Radulphus abbas S. Albani, *c.* A.D. 1146) etiam processionem in Commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ, quæ singulis hebdomadibus in albis celebratur, ad altare ejusdem Virginis fieri statuit.—Matt. Paris, *Vit. Abb. S. Albani*, p. 41 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 107].

[99] "Lady, to þy leue sone·lowte for me nouthe,
That he haue pyte on me putour·of his pure grace and mercy,
With þat ich shal" quath þat shrewe· "saterdayes, for þy loue,
Drynke bote with þe douke·and dyne bote ones."
—Peirs Plouhman, *Passus* vii. 171–175 [ed. Skeat, p. 104].

[1] By his will (A.D. 1435), Richard, Earl of Warwick, gave "to the collegiate church of Warwick an image of our Lady of pure gold, there to remain for ever, in the name of a heriot."—*Test. Vet.*, i. 231. Abp. Bourchier's bequest of a silver-gilt image to Worcester Cathedral is mentioned further on, note 32.

vestry, a silver-gilt figure of the Virgin and Child, which he placed upon the altar.[2]

For their chief patroness, our largest cities chose Mary;[3] and upon the crown itself employed at the coronation of England's kings might once have been seen not only, as now, the cross of Christ, but the virgin-form too of her from whom He took His flesh.[4]

Whilst this country's belief was one, its symbols of religion, instead of being locked up in our churches, were spread abroad—on the hill-top, beneath the green-wood shade, nigh the field-path, by the high-way, towards the hamlet's end, upon the bridge, at the street's corner, in the middle of (283) the market-place—everywhere—not broken, not dishonoured, but adorned and reverenced. Among such outward tokens of this land's olden Christian faith, those representing Mary were neither the fewest nor the least beloved. Shrouded within its little tabernacle might often be met

[2] Ymagines B. Mariæ, quarum una argentea deaurata sedet in cathedra, ponderis 19li; altera argentea deaurata portans puerum, cum lapide saphyro in manu sua, quam ebdomadarius portat cotidie ad Missam ad summum altare, ponderans 5 libras, 11 uncias.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1204.

[3] The Blessed Virgin was looked upon as patroness of Lincoln, as we learn from Hoveden: Cives igitur Lincolnienses victoriosi, summo gaudio repleti, Virgini virginum protectrici eorum laudes et gratias insigniter exsolverunt.—Roger of Hoveden, *Ann.* (Pars prior), ed. Savile, fol. 280 b. [*R.S.*, li. i. 209].

[4] On the royal crown of England, at the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign, among other ornaments, there was: A flower de luce sett w^t^ an image of our Lady ϒ her childe, &c.—*Kalendars and Invent. of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, ed. Palgrave, ii. 260.

with, on the roadside, the image of the Virgin; and many a wayfarer, ere going by, would halt for a moment to think of heaven and worship God, as he bade his beads, or said a "Salve" or an "Alma" kneeling before the likeness of Christ's sweet maiden-mother.[5] This love of our Blessed Lady softened (284) the hardness of men's hearts, by teaching them to have a holy love for one another, and to help a fellow-creature in his wants. Many an alms was given for her sake; and the food so set aside in almost every house

[5] Chaucer puts this old English custom very prettily before his readers:—

> And eek also, wher-as he saugh th' image
> Of Cristes moder, hadde he in usage
> As him was taught, to knele adoun, and seye
> His *Ave Maria*, as he goth by the weye.
> Thus hath this widwe hir litel sone y-taught
> Our blisful lady, Cristes moder dere,
> To worshipe ay, and he forgat it naught.

—*The Prioresses Tale* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, 499]. The new religion brought in new tastes in the arts; and the same Englishmen who pulled down St. Mary's images, set up those of Diana in their stead. Speaking of the once beautiful cross which used to stand in West Cheap, old Stow says: In the year 1584, the 21st of June, in the night, the lowest images round about the same cross (being of Christ his resurrection, of the Virgin Mary, king Edward the confessor, and such like) were broken and defaced. The image of the blessed Virgin, at that time robbed of her Son, and her arms broken by which she staid him on her knees; her whole body also was haled with ropes, and left ready to fall. . . . On the east side, under the image of Christ's resurrection, was then set up a curious wrought tabernacle of grey marble, and in the same, an alabaster image of Diana, a woman (for the most part naked) and water prilling from her naked breasts, &c.—*Survey of London*, ed. Strype, I. iii. p. 35.

to be bestowed upon the poor, went by the name of "Ladymeat."[6]

[6] The victuals given to the poor in honour of the Blessed Virgin were often known by the above name: in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (v. 93) we find them so called, as well as "Lady met^{s}" (*ibid.*, 271), and "St. Mary's loaf": Singulis diebus dominicis in uno pane voc' Saynte Mary loffe.—*Ibid.*, 294. Upon every table there stood an alms-dish, which, in great houses, was of silver, and made like a ship. Among Edward I.'s plate, are set down "unam ollam elemos' et unam cum tribus pedibus argenti," &c. —*Lib. Quot.* or *Wardrobe Account*, p. 332. Those belonging to Henry VI. must have been very handsome, for they are noticed as: Magnus discus (elemosinarius) vocatus *gret ship* de argento deaurato, &c.—*Antient Kalendars and Invent.*, ed. Palgrave, ii. 114: j graunde almesdich pee d argent (ꝑcelles) ennorrez ovecq̧ les armes de *Sr de Lovell* en le somite achatez dez executours (del) l'Erchevesq̧ de Caunꝗbury pois xxii lb iii unc'—*Ibid.*, 128. Unū discū elemosinar' de auro ad modū unius navis voc' *le Tygre* situat' suꝑ unū ursum ponder' xxii lb. j unce ꝗ d' ꝗ caret uno baleis j grosso ꝑle ꝗ duobus ꝑvis ꝑles, &c.—*Ibid.*, 138. In "The Inventorye of Sir John Fastolfe" is found "j almsse Disshe weiyng $\overset{xx.}{\text{vij}}$. xj. vnces."—*Archæologia*, xxi. 244. Of the use of this alm-dish we gather a few, though interesting, notices out of an old poem, written in the fourteenth century, *The Boke of Curtasyse*, which, in speaking of dinner-time and its ceremonies, tells us how

The aumenere by this hathe sayde grace
And tho almes dysshe hase sett in place;
Therein the kerver a lofe schalle sette,
To serve God fyrst withouten lette;

. . . . . .

The aumenere a rod schalle have in honde
As office for almes, y undurstonde.
Alle the broken met he kepys y wate
To dele to pore men at the gate

. . . . . .

Selver he deles rydand by way;
And his almys-dysshe, as I you say,
To the porest man that he can fynde, &c.

—Printed for the Percy Society, p. 30.

During the reign of John was it that this alms-platter found its place upon the board of the wealthy, through the preaching of Eustace, abbot of Flay, a religious house in Normandy, as Roger

(285) Held as Christ's mother then was by all the people in such hallowed respect, throughout the (286) land there arose bearing her name certain churches, which became places of more especial resort, not only unto such as dwelt in their more immediate neighbourhood, but for those who lived far off: they were visited by pilgrims from the furthermost ends of the kingdom.[7] Among those sanctuaries none stood higher in public estimation than our Lady's of Walsingham. So strong indeed became the liking for this Norfolk shrine, that by one of those beautiful and poetic, though wild imaginings of the time, the Milky Way was said to streak the heavens with its starry length, on purpose to tell the wanderer where lay that spot so sacred to the Virgin, and

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Hoveden tells us: Et impetravit (Eustacius) prædicatione sua quod multi ex civibus (Londoniis) et ex aliis viris sapientibus, habent quotidie in mensa sua discum eleemosynarium, in quo condunt aliquam partem cibariorum suorum ad opus indigentium. —Roger of Hoveden, *Annal.* (Pars posterior) [*R.S.*, li. iv. 124].

While a love for Mary taught men to be kind towards the poor, it also mellowed their speech to one another, and "God's blyssyng and our Lady's have ye," as the wealthy London tradesman says to the door-keeper of a spittle (*The Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous*, in *Typograph. Antiq.*, iii. 124) was the holy wish that once used to drop often every day from thousands of lips in England.

[7] About half a mile or I cam to Liskard, I passid in a wood by a chapel of owr Lady, caullid our Lady in the park, wher was wont to be gret pilgrimage.—Leland, *Itin.*, iii. 27. On the lift hand of this creke, by west a litle from the shore, stondith a chapelle of our Lady of Grace, sum time hauntid with pilgrimes.—*Ibid.*, 94. About a dim. fro the castel is a village cawlled Burgham, and ther is a great pilgremage to our Lady.—*Ibid.*, vii. 49.

show him his path thitherward.[8] (287) Not the lower classes merely, but the noblest, the bravest, the best of the land, went to or helped in upholding these places of pilgrimage in honour of Christ's holy mother.[9]

But all about, not merely here and there, (288) were thickly sprinkled other lightsome though less sparkling proofs of our forefathers' love of sweet St. Mary; and he who loiters along any part of England will find them even now. Let the traveller of such a mood only linger a while upon his road, now and then, to look about him, and he will see that everywhere his path is strewed with

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[8] The commonalty believed the *Galaxias*, or (what is called in the sky) *Milky Way*, was appointed by Providence to point out the particular place and residence of the Virgin, beyond all other places, and was, on that account, generally in that age, called *Walsingham Way;* and I have heard old people of this country so to call and distinguish it some years past.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ix. 280.

[9] In the accompts of Elizabeth of York (Henry VII.'s Queen), we find that there were "delivered to Sr William Barton, preest, for thofferings of the Queen, to oure lady and Saint George at Wyndesoure, and to the Holy Crosse there, ij*s.* vj*d.*; to oure lady of Eton, xx*d.*; to oure lady of Caversham, ij*s.* vj*d.*; to oure lady of Cokthorp, xx*d.*; to oure lady of Worcestre, v*s.*; to oure lady of Grace (at Northampton), v*s.*; to oure lady of Walsingham, v*s.* viij*d.*; to oure lady of Sudbury, ij*s.* vj*d.*; to oure lady of Wolpitte, xx*d.*; to oure lady of Ippeswiche, iij*s.* iiij*d.*; and to oure lady of Stokeclare, xx*d.*"—*Privy Purse of Elizabeth of York*, ed. Nicolas, p. 3. Among many other such gifts, we observe that the Earl of Northumberland (A.D. 1512) used "yerly to send afor Michaelmas for his Lordschips Offerynge to our Lady of Walsyngeham, iiii*d.*"—*The Northumberland Household Book*, ed. Percy, p. 337. Item . . . yerely for the upholdynge of the Light of Wax which his Lordschip fyndith birnynge yerly befor our Lady of Walsyngham, vj*s.* viij*d.*—*Ibid.*, p. 338.

abiding tokens of our fellow-countrymen's old affection for the Virgin. If every large town has yet its St. Mary's church; if every, however small, parish once had its St. Mary's altar, almost every district had and has its "Lady-grove," its "Mary-field," its "Mary's well," its "Lady-mead," besides patches of ground by wood, and stream, with other such like denominations.[10] Nay, the hind also knew how to tell the feelings of his heart; and though he owned no mead, nor field, nor grove, upon which to bestow the name of her he loved, he could—and did—choose the flowers that grew there for his symbols, calling one our "Lady's mantle,"[11] another "Mary gold,"[12] this "Virgin's (289) bower,"[13] that "Mary's fan,"[14] culling them to grace his cottage walls, with a hope that he and his would be shielded from ills and harms, by the kindness of God won for him through the prayers of her under whose protection he had thus openly put himself, in hanging this emblem of hers about his homestead.[15]

[10] Orate pro anima Ricardi Poure, quondam Sarum episcopi, qui ecclesiam hanc inchoari fecit in quodam fundo ubi nunc fundata est, ex antiquo nomine Maryfelde in honorem B. Virg. Mariæ. Ex tabella in sacello S. Mariæ.—Leland, *Itin.*, iii. 77. The plotte . . . is namyid S. Maryfeld by the church of S. Mary stonding hard by it.—*Ibid.*, 90.

[11] Alchemilla vulgaris, called in Sweden "Maria Kapa."

[12] Calendula arvensis. [13] Clematis.

[14] Among the mosses and plants found about Whitsand Bay, Cornwall, there is one called St. Mary's fan, from its faint resemblance of a fan.—Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, i. 12.

[15] The Catholic feeling upon this point still lives among the peasantry in several counties. "In some parts of Cornwall, small

Our people's most favourite devotions, while bringing before them the awful truths and mysteries of their divine belief, often spoke—for they could not but speak—of Mary full of grace. Amid such spiritual exercises, one there was which consisted in commemorating some of those mysterious events wrought by heaven for man's redemption, and constituted what were then, as they yet are, called "the B. V. Mary's five joys," speaking of which an old writer tells us :—"Thene ye that wyll faste (290) the fyve evens of our Lady, in worship of her v. joyes that she had of her sone.

"¶ The fyrste whan she conceyved of the holy ghoost, and knew that she was moder to Goddis sone of heven.

"¶ The ii was on cristmasse daye, whan she was delyvered of her sone without ony peyne of her body, for as she conceyved withoute lust of her body, also she was delyvered withoute peyne of her body. ¶ The iii joye was on ester day, whan her sone rose from dethe to lyfe, and come to her and kyssed her, and made her more joyefull of his uprysynge, than she was sory of his deth. ¶ The iiii joye whan he styed up to heven, on holy tursdaye in the same flesshe and blode y^{t} he toke on her body. ¶ The fyfthe joye was in her assump-

branches of sea-weed, dried and fastened in turned wooden stands, are set up as ornaments on the chimney-piece, &c. The poor people suppose that they preserve the house from fire, and they are known by the name of '*Lady's trees*,' in honour, I presume, of the Virgin Mary."—*Notes and Queries*, iii. 206.

tion, whan she saw her sone come with grete multytude of angellis ϒ sayntis to fette her to heven, and to crowne her quene of heven, and emperes of helle, and lady of the worlde, and soo alle that ben in heven shall do her reverence ϒ worship, ϒ al that ben in earth shal do her service. This ben the fyve joyes that oure lady had of her sonne," [16] &c.

These five joys were commemorated in several ways—by that number of tapers lighted every morning at the Ladymass,[17] or while the "Salve" was (291) sung at eve,[18] or ranged about the corpse at funerals,[19] or put over graves at certain times of service,[20] as well as by so many pieces of money

[16] *Liber Festivalis*, the Annunciation, fol. c. Rouen, 1499.

[17] Belonging to Melsa Abbey, Yorkshire, there was a foundation, ad perpetuam sustentationem duorum sacerdotum . . . cum duobus clericis, unius videlicet sacerdotis qui cantet Missam in honore beatæ Mariæ Virginis cum nota et horis; et alterius qui celebret pro defunctis cotidie, &c., . . . et ad sustentationem quinque cereorum ad supradictam Missam de sancta Maria specialiter assignatorum.—*Mon. Angl.*, v. 395.

[18] See the foregoing note 93, p. 226.

[19] In his will, John of Gaunt says: Jeo devise a l'autier principal des Freres Carmes en Londres mon viel vestiment blank de drap d'or . . . et a cella xv marcs d'argent, en l'onur des xv joies de Nostre Dame.—*Test. Eborac.*, p. 228. Item Je devise a chescun maison des noneignes deinz Londres . . . v marcs, en l'oneur des v joies de Nostre Dame.—*Ibid.*, 229. Walter, Bishop of Durham, leaves (A.D. 1406) to that cathedral: Pro magno altari, meliorem pannum broudatum operatum in campo de rubeo de quinque gaudiis Beatæ Virginis, pretii xl marcarum.—*Ibid.*, 308. In his highly curious and interesting will, given to the public through the Camden Society, John Baret, of Bury, says (A.D. 1463): Item I wille haue at myn interment at my diryge and messe v. men clade in blak in wurshippe of J'hus v. woundys, and v. women clad in whith in wurshippe of oure Ladye's fyve joyes, eche of them holdyng a torche of clene vexe, &c.—*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmunds*, p. 17.

[20] John Gosselyn says: "I wyl and bequethe to the fyndyng of

(292) offered in church on some feast-days of our Lady.[21] But we see that the people were ever taught to look through this devotion, whatever might be the shape it took, at Christ, and to behold in Him the one, the only well-spring of grace.[22]

Of these joys of Mary, one there was, having (293) that about it which said how meet it seemed the world should be warned somewhile before ere the yearly celebration of it came round. If therefore Advent, or the month before Christmas, was a

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v lights . . . to brenne in the honour of the v wounds of our Lord God and the v joies of our Lady St. Mary, to brenne upon my grave every holyday in tyme of dyvyne service," &c.—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, v. 446.

[21] My Lordis offerynge accustomede upon Candilmas-day yerely to be sett in his Lordschippis candill to offer at the High Mas when his Lordschipp is at home v groits for the v joyes of our Lady.—*The Northumberland Household Book*, ed. Percy, p. 333.

[22] Lady for thy Joyes fyve
Gete me grace in thys lyve
To knowe and kepe over all thyng
Cristen feith and Goddes byddyng
And trewly wynne all that I nede
To me and myn clothe and fede
. . . . . .
Swete Lady for me thou pray to heven king
That he graunt me housel shrift and gode endynge
Jhesu for his swete grace
In the blisse of hevene also a place
Lady as I trust in the
This prayer that thou graunt me
And I schalle lady here be lyfe
Grete the with Aves fyfe
Swete lady full of wynne
Full of grace and god withynne.

—*Speculum Christiani*, in Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, ii. 14.

season of fasting, so, after a kind, was it of gladness too. Alleluia,[23] that word of ghostly joy, was sung forth at Mass; at matins, the invitatory chanted contained this exhortation :—"Ecce venit Rex; occurramus obviam Salvatori nostro—Behold the King is coming; let us run forth to meet our Saviour."[24] Then, as now, high personages, especially the sovereign, on nearing the town to be honoured by their presence, were greeted with a festive peal from the church bells. Knowing that after a spiritual way the King of Kings was then about to come in the flesh to see and save sinners, our fathers thought it well to do out of reverence for Him not less than they did towards princes of the world. Hence upon most evenings for those four weeks, this land (294) used to be all astir, not with sad, but joyful sounds; and the bells in every church steeple swung forth their peals of gladsomeness for hours through the damp cold darkness of the night, with the tidings that the celebration of Christ's first visit to us in the flesh was drawing near.[25] In many a place

[23] But the first coming of Christ into this world brought joy and bliss with him, therefore holy church used songs of mirth, as alleluia and other. And for the second coming of Christ shall be cruel that no tongue may tell, therefore holy church layith down songs of melody, as "Te Deum laudamus," "Gloria in excelsis," and weddings.—*Liber Festivalis*, in Dominica prima Adventus, fol. i.

[24] Such is the invitatory in the Salisbury portous: though different in words, the one in the Roman breviary—Regem venturum Dominum, venite adoremus—has the same meaning.

[25] In Italy the "pifferari" go about from earliest dawn till evening, playing the same kind of air on a sort of rough hautboy

throughout England the Advent bells are yet rung, but the meaning of the custom is forgotten.

To do yet further honour unto her whom God so loved, and His archangel had so reverenced, as well as to lead the world, on beholding how she had been uplifted above all mankind, to ask her intercession, those glowing illuminations with which the limner had brightened the leaves of many a book of "Hours" that was hand-written, no less than the woodcuts of such volumes as came to them later from the press, set before men's eyes the Virgin's holiness all through life, and the proofs said to have been given by heaven of it at her death and burial.[26] But a love for Christ was shown by many other

and bag-pipes — the zampogna — before the pictures of the Madonna, hung up at the corners of streets and in shops, all through Advent-time, till Christmas-eve.

[26] To the octavo edition, printed by Regnault (A.D. 1526), of the Salisbury "Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie," there is a frontispiece which shows, in its upper part, the assumption—below, the burial of our Lady: four of the apostles are carrying the bier with her coffin overspread with a pall; and two hands, seemingly but just cut off from the wrists of a man standing close by and screaming with pain, lie upon it. The meaning of this we find in a discourse on the life and death of B. V. Mary, by Metaphrastes (*c.* A.D. 904) who tells us: Cum hoc sacrum et impollutum corpus (Virginis Mariæ) in Gethsemane efferretur, ubi sepulchro tradi Deipara ipsa præceperat, Judæis, qui semper fuerunt repleti invidia, ne in hoc quidem succurrit tacere, sed ad ejus, quod fiebat, splendorem claudere oculos, et ad eis innatum motum animi erumpere. Qui ergo erat aliis insanior et imprudentior, is cum venerandum portaretur grabatum, in id irruit plenus inconsiderato impetu et furore. Ejus autem scopus erat, hunc sacrum lectum in terram allidere, et tali afficere injuria, ut qui esset vir insigni audacia. Non neglexit autem divina justitia; sed manus quæ grabatum apprehenderant, ex ulnis protinus fuerunt abscissæ.

Popular Devotions to the B. V. Mary.

(295) England's churchmen and lay folks strove who should yield our Lady the greatest homage.

Cumque qui passus fuerat esset quidem improbus non tamen omnino ejus improbitas videretur insanabilis . . . petiit pœni-

Of (296) our archbishops of Canterbury, those who were more distinguished for their holiness, always

tentiam. Et quoniam carebat manibus, nec eas poterat ad preces extendere, emittit lachrymas ex oculis et sic petit curationem. . . . Statim enim ii quidem qui lectum ferebant, constiterunt, accedit vero is qui passus fuerat sectionem, et quæ amputatæ fuerant, partibus ulnis applicatis, hoc autem jusserat Petrus, statim consecuta est manuum curatio.—*De Vita et Dormit. S. Mariæ*, in Surius, *Vit.*, iv. 665. The "Golden Legend" speaks somewhat differently of this miracle, for it tells us: "And in the saynge so he layde his hondes on the bere, wyllynge to turne it and overthrowe it to the grounde. Then sodeynly bothe his hondes wexed drye and cleved to the bere, so that he henge by the hondes on the bere and was sore tourmented and wepte and brayed. . . . And the prynce of prestes sayd, Saynt Peter, despyse not me in this trybulacyon, and I praye the to praye for me to our Lorde. . . . And anone his hondes were losed fro the bere. But yet the dryenesse and the payne ceased not in hym. And than saynt Peter sayd to him, Kysse the bere and saye, I byleve in God Jhesu Cryst that this woman bare in her bely and remayned vyrgyn after the chyldynge. And whan he so had sayd, he was anone all hole perfyghtly."—*Wynkyn de Worde's* edition; fol. cxvii^{v}.

In all ages and in all countries men have shown their feelings of love and hatred towards individuals through the honour or dishonour they manifested to their effigies. While then the faithful in this country revered the saints, but especially the Virgin Mary, by illuminating their prayer-books with paintings of her and them, those heretics called Lollards displayed their contempt of both by rubbing out their heads in illuminations, and scratching away their names from the litany, as we are told by one of our countrymen who lived and wrote in those days:—Reperti fuerunt libri in Anglicis scripti litteris, et nonnulli libri quondam nobiliter et imaginibus Sanctorum diversorum decorati; quarum imaginum capita juxta formam falsæ doctrinæ suæ, nebulones (Lolardi) abraserant, et in Letaniis omnium Sanctorum nomina, una cum nominibus Beatæ Virginis, aboleverant. . . . Inventa sunt insuper illic quædam scripta plena blasphemiæ in Beatam Mariam, &c. —Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, ed. Camden, p. 399 [*R.S.*, xxviii. ii. 326]. Some of the Lollard leaders died bitterly weeping their fall into that sin: one of them, Sir Thomas Latimer, in his last will, after calling himself "a false knight to God," prays "to Him meekly of His grace, that He will take so poor a present as his wretched soul is into His mercy, through the beseeching of His

had a (297) warm affection towards her. St. Anselm wrote many beautiful prayers beseeching her help.[27] From his cradle was St. Thomas taught to love the Virgin, by his own mother, who used, in her hallowed playfulness of heart, to put her boy, whilst he was yet a child, into a scale, and bestow his weight in food, clothing, and money, on the poor, that she might thereby win for her darling the prayers and the protection of this blessed Mary.[28] St. Edmund (298) kept a figure of our Lady in his reading-room, and for token of a vow he had made, while still a youth, that he would ever lead a chaste unmarried life, hung a ring upon the finger of her statue, thereby wedding himself unto the Virgin.[29]

blessed mother, and His holy saints."—*Test. Vet.*, i. 159. Another, Sir Lewis Clifford, denounces himself as "false and traitor to my Lord God and to all the blessed company of heaven," &c.—*Ibid.*, 164.

[27] *Opp.* ed. Gerberon, pp. 276–285 [*P.L.*, clviii. 942–966].

[28] Consueverat autem ipsa ejus (S. Thomæ Martyris) mater venerabilis certis temporibus filium suum ponderare, appositis ei panibus et carnibus et vestimentis, nummis etiam et aliis speciebus quæ usibus essent pauperum necessaria, et ea omnia egenis distribuere, per hæc eum divinæ pietati et beatæ semper virgini[s] Mariæ protectione attentius satagens commendare. Nam et ipsa, inter opera pietatis quæ et diligenter et indesinenter exercebat, præcipuam devotionem circa beatæ virginis memoriam semper habebat, docebatque sollicite filium suum, sicut ipse referre solitus erat, timorem Domini, et ut beatam semper virginem Mariam speciali devotioni amplecti et venerari satageret, eamque tanquam vitæ et actuum suorum gubernatricem atque patronam incessanter invocaret, eique post Christum spem suam committeret.—[Roger of Pontigny], *Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar. Martyris*, ab auctore anonymo, ed. Giles, i. 97 [*R.S.*, lxvii. iv. 7, 8].

[29] In studio suo coram se imaginem beate Marie habebat eburneam, et in circuitu misterium nostre redemptionis habebat de-

Archbishop Winchelsey revered Christ's mother above all the saints,[30] and for her praise used to give in alms unto one hundred and fifty poor folks a penny each, upon the eve as well as the day itself of all her principal festivals through the year.[31] Archbishop (299) Bourchier bequeathed to Worcester Cathedral an image wrought of silver and gilt, of the B. V. Mary.[32] Cardinal Morton chose for his grave a spot of ground in the undercroft of Canterbury, at the feet of an image there of the Virgin, to make known for future ages that deeply-rooted love towards her which had grown upon him so strongly all his life.[33] Throughout the whole body of our churchmen ran this same feeling: the poet-clerk who could write verses,

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pictum.—Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* [ed. Horstman, i. 318]. De consilio namque cuiusdam sacerdotis perpetuam virginitatem iuvenis vovit atque in signum irrefragabilis federis annulo suo beate Marie imaginem subarravit, et novo more annulo digitum ipsius insignivit ubi erat scriptum illud Ave angelicum.—*Ibid.* [319].

[30] Virginem Mariam amore spiritualissimo prædilexit; et ipsam post Deum præ sanctis omnibus honorabat.—*Anglia Sac.*, i. 13.

[31] In quatuor festis solempnioribus Beatæ Mariæ CL denarios totidem pauperibus ad laudem S. Virginis erogari fecit, et in festo conceptionis ejusdem, et in quatuor vigiliis antedictis, &c.—*Ibid.* The number of the poor, no doubt, was representative of the CL "aves" said in the rosary, a devotion of which the saintly archbishop was very fond, as will be noticed later.

[32] Ecclesiæ Wigorn. imaginem B. Mariæ de argento deaurato fabricatam valoris lxix. librarum (legavit Thomas Bourchier archiep. Cant.)—*Ibid.*, p. 795.

[33] Subterraneoque loco in criptis nuncupato, lapide duntaxat coopertus marmoreo, coram imagine Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ quam ex intimo diligebat sepulturæ locum elegit (Johannes Morton, Cardinalis et archiep. Cantuariensis).—*Ibid.*, i. 64.

gladly sang and rejoiced that he was able to teach others how to sing St. Mary's praises;[34] while his more learned (300) brother, who drew up or had translated any book for the ghostly welfare of mankind, begged, as the guerdon hankered after most for the toils bestowed upon his work, that the reader, as often as he took it into his hands, would greet the Blessed Virgin with an "ave."[35] Very many of our old parish churches bore, as they yet bear, the name of the Blessed Virgin; in the order, however, of Sempringham, which had its rise in this country, the rule was that, where it could be done, not some, but all those churches belonging to it, should be set aside to God in memory of the queen of heaven.[36] Overtaken upon his road by night, or thunderstorm,

[34] In the British Museum there are the following poems in praise of the B. V. Mary, written by John de Hoveden: Quindecim gaudia Virginis gloriose, a Joh. de Hoveden clerico Alionoræ reginæ matris regis Edwardi. Ejusdem L salutationes B. Virginis. Ejusdem Laus de B. Virgine quæ "Viola" vocatur. Ejusdem "Lyra" extollens B. Virginem.—*Cotton MS., Nero* C. ix. Besides a great many more, may be mentioned the poems in *Nero* A. xiv., and *Harl.*, 2253. Lydgate's "Lyfe of our Lady" was printed by Caxton.

[35] At the end of his work, the English translator of "Institutiones Monialium" says:—Ase ofte as ge haven red oht o þis boc, gretes ure Lavedi wiδ an ave for him þ swanc her abuten.—*Cotton MS., Titus* D. xviii., num. 5.

[36] Our countryman St. Gilbert of Sempringham, in the rule which he drew up for the houses of his order, says:—Decernimus ut omnes ecclesiæ nostræ et successorum nostrorum, in memoria ejusdem cœli et terræ reginæ sanctæ Mariæ, et aliorum sanctorum fundentur atque dedicentur nisi aliqua necessitas aliter fieri compellat.—*Mon. Angl.*, vii. p. l.* in medio tomi.

the wayfaring clerk would uplift his heart to heaven in prayer as he sang a hymn (301) asking Mary's help ; and it has happened that she showed herself, what he besought her to be—a mother—by bringing him scathless through the tempest.[37] On the festival of her Assumption, the canons and clerks of Ottery St. Mary's were required by a statute of their founder, John Grandison, bishop of Exeter, not only to dine all together in their chapter-house, but to be arrayed for that festive meal each in his surplice, as a token of the spotless whiteness that shone in her who is the dear dove of Paradise.[38] His college at Winchester, as well as the larger one at Oxford, William of Wykeham put under the protection of the Blessed Virgin ; and upon the walls of both these fine buildings may be seen niches tenanted, to this day, by beautiful statues of our Lady, at whose feet kneels that great good bishop, with hands outstretched and eyes upturned towards her, as if asking St. Mary to be a mother to him and to those schools of his endowing.

The lay folks of England did not hang behind their ecclesiastical teachers, but hurried forwards

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[37] Quidam clerici itinerantes tempestate fulguris in nocturno discutiente cecinerunt ympnum, *Ave maris stella*, &c. Et cum pervenerunt ad hunc versum, *Monstra te esse matrem*, beata virgo quoddam velum super eos expandit, sub cujus umbra securi donec transiret tempestas permanserunt. — Henry Knighton, Canon. Leycest., *Chron.* [*R.S.*, xcii. i. 103].

[38] See vol. ii. pp. 12, 13, of this work.

(302) and brought the tribute of their warm-hearted devotion to Christ's mother. In doing this the highest were, as they should be, the first to lead the way. The sword with which Richard I. was girt for his dukedom of Normandy, had been first carried to and hallowed upon St. Mary's altar, before which that ceremony took place.[39] When our kings overcame their enemies in war, as a solemn act of thanksgiving to heaven, they went in pilgrimage to some church called after our Lady:[40] soul-smitten for the woe they had brought upon other countries through their pride of heart, or lust for wider dominion, plighting a vow to Christ as they looked towards and bowed to the far-off spires of some cathedral or minster hallowed to Him in honour of that maid who bore Him, they vowed they would give peace to the land they were then wasting and worrying by fire and sword. This did our third Edward in France.[41]

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[39] Per ministerium archiepiscopi (Rothomagensis) de altari beatæ virginis Mariæ ducatus Normanniæ gladium suscepit (Richardus). —Roger of Wendover, *Flores Hist.*, ed. Coxe, iii. 2 [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. i. 161].

[40] On beholding from his ship the French fleet lying off Sluys, Edward III. said, "I have for a long time wished to meet with them, and now, please God and St. George, we will fight with them." After gaining the victory, the king landed, and attended by a crowd of knights, set out on foot on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, where he heard mass and dined.—Froissart, *Chron.*, i. 72, 73.

[41] During his wars in France, Edward III., overtaken by a fearful thunderstorm, turned himself towards the church of our Lady at Charters, and religiously vowed to the Virgin that he would accept terms of peace.—*Ibid.*, i. 283.

Our Lady was reckoned as (303) one among the guardian saints of England, and its patron St. George was called her knight by our Henry V., who, after drawing up his men for battle on the field of Agincourt, thus besought our Saviour, and asked Mary and other hallows to pray, in behalf of himself and his small array :—

> "Criste," he sayd, "that schepe bothe see and sond,
> And arte a kyng of myzt,
> This daye holde on us thy holy hond,
> And sped me welle in all my ryzt.
> Helpe, Sent Jorge, oure Lady knyzt,
> Sent Edward, that ys to fre,
> Owre Lady, Godys moder bryzt,
> And Sent Thomas of Canterbury." [42]

Arising from the ground, upon which he and his troops had been kneeling a short moment in silent supplications to heaven,[43] Henry shouted

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[42] Lydgate, *Battle of Agincourt*, ed. Nicolas, p. 320. One of Henry's chaplains, who was at Agincourt with him and saw the battle, on horseback in the rear, tells us how the king, invoking the name of Jesus, to whom bows every knee, &c., and also of the glorious Virgin and St. George, moved towards the enemy.—*Ibid.*, p. 259.

[43] Lydgate says:

> The kynge knelyd doun in that stounde
> And Englysshmen on every syde
> And thries there kyssed the grounde,
> And on there feet gon glyde.

—*Ibid.*, p. 321. In the black-letter print of the "Batayll of Egyngecourte," a copy of which is in the Bodleian, it is said:—

> Than kneled oure Kyng downe in that stounde,
> And all his men on euery syde,
> Eury man made a crosse and kyssed the grounde,
> And on theyr fete faste ganne abyde.
>
> —*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 75.

that (304) well-known word of onslaught, "Banners forwards." But of those five flags carried into battle by our countrymen, the two which our brave king chose to have borne flying over his own head, as on foot he rushed to the fray, one was blazoned with the royal arms of England, the other shone with the figure of the Blessed Virgin :

> "Avaunt baner without lettyng
> Sant Joyrg before eny of myne,
> The banere of the Trenyte, that is Heaven Kyng,
> And Sente Edward his baner at thys tyd.
> 'Our Lady,' he sayd, 'that is Haven Quene,
> Myn oune baner with her schall abyde.'"[44]

For our Lady's love was it that this same Henry V. (305) granted a truce to besieged and starving Rouen ; and when at last our king took that city, both he and all his followers showed how they honoured the saints, but especially the Virgin.[45] Pouring onwards through its different gates, knights and men shouted the well-known cry,

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[44] Lydgate, *Ibid.*, p. 322. The conqueror at Agincourt—one of the bravest kings England ever gave birth to—had a most particular devotion towards the mother of our Lord. Many proofs he showed of this; and one—not the least—"The Lyfe of our Lady" (made by Dan John Lydgate, monk of Bury), was compiled "at the excitation and stirring of the noble and victorious prince King Harry the Fifth; in honour, glory, and reverence of the birth of our most blessed Lady, maid, wife, and mother of our Lord Jesus Christ."—*Typog. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, i. 336.

[45] But at the reverence of God Allmygte
And off hys moder Mayden bryghte
Of trewys nowe I grawnte yowe space.
—*Siege of Rouen*, in *Archæologia*, xxi. 77.

"St. George! St. George!"[46] not now for a blood-stirring call to the fight, but as the grateful song of triumph, sung so cheerily when they beheld their own red-cross banner flaunting high over the conquered walls. Henry himself rode between long glittering rows of clergy who had come processionally forth to bring him into Rouen by its principal gate, over which waved no other flag than "a baner of the quene of heven."[47] To (306) fields whereon she gathered many of her brightest everlasting laurels, England carried proudly uplifted side by side with her St. George's red cross, and her three gold lions, the banner of the Blessed

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[46] & as thay entrid thay gaf a schowte
W^t^ her voyce that was fulle stowte
"Seint George! Seint George!" thay criden on heigt,
& seide "welcome oure kynges righte."
—*Ibid.*, xxii. 380.

[47] In telling us of the preparations made by the Duke of Exeter for the triumphant entry of Henry V. into Rouen, after its fall to the beleaguering English, the poet says:—

& riche baneris he up sette.
Vpon the porte seint Hillare
A Baner of the Trynyte.
& at the port Kaux he sette evene
A Baner of the quene of heven.
& at port martvile he uppygt
Of seint George a baner brygt.
He sette upon the Castelle to stonde
The armys of Fraunce and Englond.
And on the Friday in the mornynge
Into that Cite come oure kynge
& alle the Bisshoppis in her aray,
& vij. abbottis w^t^ Crucchis gay;
xlij. crossis ther were of Religioune
& seculere, and alle thay went a processioun,
Agens that prince withoute the toune,

Virgin.[48] What England did by land, she did by (307) sea, to ask and have Mary's intercession for her fleets: Mary's name was bestowed not merely on one but on several ships at the same time in the English navy; and Mary's flag was looked up to with eyes sparkling in thankful gladness, as much by old England's hardy sailors as by her bold-hearted bowmen; for both had often fought and won as it waved over them.[49] England's most stalworth knights were the most devoted to the Virgin, and our stoutest warriors would sometimes ride to the battle-field, not with their own heraldic bearings emblazoned, but instead, the figure of Christ's maiden-mother wrought in

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& euery Cros as thay stode
He blessid hem w^t^ milde mode,
& holy water with her hande
Thay gaf the prince of oure lande.
& at the porte Kaux so wide
He in passid withoute pride.
—*Ibid.*, xxii. 382.

[48] It is a curious fact that among the incidents belonging to all our great battles of old, we ever find a something which shows how strong must have been the devotion towards the B. V. Mary felt by those Englishmen who won them. The battle of Cressy was fought on a Saturday, on which account (see before, p. 229) our army went into action fasting, out of love to Christ's mother, and calling earnestly upon her to help them by her prayers:—Anglici Christi matrem invocantes, quum illum diem sabbati cum jejuniis sacrificaverunt (sanctificaverunt?)—Geof. Baker de Swinbroke, *Chron.*, p. 166.

[49] During Henry V.'s reign all the ships in the royal navy were, with two or three exceptions, called after one or other person of the Holy Trinity, or some saint; but out of those xxvii vessels, iv bore the name of "Marie." See a list of these ships in Nicolas, *Battle of Agincourt*, Appendix, p. 22.

beautiful needlework on their surcoats.[50] At death, as well as in life, stretched beneath the cold tombstone, as well as (308) dashing hot and headlong to the charge, or mounted on the prancing steed in the hour of triumph, was it that king, and lord, and knight, while yet England was Catholic, showed so strong a love for sweet, kind St. Mary, asking, as each did, that the banner figured with her likeness, which had fluttered above their heads in this world's perils and victories, might be borne with them to the grave and left there to droop over their dust, with a hope that she would not forget their undying souls.[51] But when that hour did come for those men to fight their last awful fight—to wrestle with this world and its wishes and its yearnings —to meet grim death and fear him not, after weeping heart-tears over their sins, and crying to

[50] Sir John Chandos, a brave old warrior, and one amongst those who formed the first batch of knights of the Garter, bore as his device, wrought in embroidery upon his surcoat, the figure of the B. V. Mary, clothed in blue, and encircled by the rays of the sun: dressed in this manner, the English soldier fought at the battle of Poitiers.—Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. Johnes, i. 216.

[51] Of the four banners called "avowries," and spoken of before in this work (vol. ii. p. 394), borne at royal funerals, one was figured with the Trinity, a second with our Blessed Lady, a third with St. George (see vol. ii. p. 402). Knights too at their burials were allowed them: they seem indeed to have been looked upon as the religious badges of this country. Wishing to be buried "after the degree of a baronet," Sir David Owen, knight, says in his will (A.D. 1529), there are to be, besides helmet, sword, &c., "a banner of the Holy Trinity, one of Our Lady, and another of St. George, borne after the order of a man of my degree, and the same to be set over my tomb, &c."—*Test. Vet.*, ii. 700.

Christ for His forgiveness—after arming themselves with the strength of His grace had through the sacraments, they called (309) upon all God's saints in heaven, in particular they besought holy Mary to become their friend by her prayers at that moment in their behoof.[52]

Not without a strong meaning about them were (310) those cravings, which, as we see by their last wills, our churchmen and our gentry so often showed, to have (when they died) a grave, either nigh the chapel[53] or before the altar of the B. V.

[52] "Set," says a book held in high esteem once in England, "set in the sight of the sick a crucifix, and also an image of our Lady, if ye can have it either in picture or in carved work, and oftentimes biddeth them remember the Passion of our Saviour, whereby they shall have remission of sin, and special defence from their ghostly enemy; and bid them heartily beseke oftentimes that blessed Mother of mercy to pray for them, and that she will be with them at the hour of death. . . . And when ye see that he gived up the spirit, cry, and bid those which are about you cry, 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, help your servant: Iesu, Iesu, Iesu, by the virtue of thy passion, help thy servant: Blessed Virgin Mary and mother of mercy, help thy servant: Iesu have mercy of thy soul: all the court of heaven, we beseke you, in the charity of our Lord, pray for his soul: the grace of the Holy Ghost, and the merits of Christ's Passion, be with thee.'"—*Doctrynal of Dethe*, emprynted by Wynkyn de Worde, sig. A vj. Of the death-bed scene of that holy man, St. Richard, bishop of Chichester, we have the following sketch handed down to us: Illam autem psalmistæ vocem qua dicit "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," frequentius iterans, et ad gloriosam Virginem vicissim corde simul et ore se convertens, ait, "Maria mater gratiæ, mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe;" et præcepit capellanis suis quod illa verba in auribus dicere non cessarent.—*Vita S. Richardi Ep. Cicestrensis*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, i. 307.

[53] Thomas de la Mare, canon of York, says in his will:—Commendo animam meam Deo, beatæ Mariæ, &c., et corpus meum ad sepeliendum . . . ante osteum capellæ beatæ Mariæ, &c.—*Test.*

Mary,[54] but more especially at the foot of her image,[55] which always stood on the north-east side of all our chancels.[56] In such wishes we easily read that (311) warm love which those men bore, while they lived, to the Virgin; and how they hoped, when they should be dead, that she would still have a love for them, and let them feel it through her prayers to her Divine Son in behalf of their souls in purgatory, whose bodies lay as it were in her keeping, buried within these bounds hallowed to God under her name.

For our poets ever had it been a gladsome task to sing Mary's praises: when therefore, with becoming feelings towards their country, they told of its mighty doings, they would sometimes begin their lays by asking heaven to keep their

Ebor., p. 68. The wish of Robert Swylyngton, knight, is: Corpus meum ad sepeliendum . . . in capella beatæ Mariæ ante altare, &c. —*Ibid.*, p. 107.

[54] "Lego animam meam," says the will of Herbert St. Quintin, "Deo, beatæ Mariæ Virgini, et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia de Staunton . . . coram altare Sanctæ Mariæ."—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 41. William, Lord Latimer desires: Mon corps d'estre enterre en l'esglise de Porioralte de Gisburn, devant le haut auter nostre Dame, &c.—*Ibid.*, 114.

[55] John Begod, knight, speaks thus of his burial: Sepeliendum in ecclesia mea parochiali de Seteryngton, videlicet in choro dictæ ecclesiæ, coram ymagine B. M. Virginis.—*Test. Ebor.*, p. 411. The same place for his grave is thus pointed out by Hugh de Tunstede, rector of Catton: Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in choro ecclesiæ juxta magnum altare ad latus aquilonare.—*Ibid.*, p. 18. John de Harpham, vicar of Outthorne, was to be buried: In capella beatæ Mariæ Virginis in predicta ecclesia coram ymagine beatæ Mariæ. —*Ibid.*, p. 49.

[56] See before, pp. 219, and 222, note 87.

dear England from harm, out of love for Mary. The first lines on the battle of Agincourt are:

"God, that all this worlde dyde make,
And dyed for us upon a tree,
Saue England for Mary thy mother's sake,
As thou are stedfast God in trynyte." [57]

The living minstrel, while he thought of and prayed for his dead brother-minstrel's soul, would, as he called upon Mary to lend the help of her intercession for the departed, remind her of that strong claim which his once tuneful but now dumb buried friend had upon her kindness, because he loved when alive to sing her praise. Thus was it Occleve (312) besought the mother of Christ that she would beg her Son's forgiveness on Chaucer:—

"As thou wel knowest, O blissid virgyne,
With lovyng hert and hye devocion,
In thyne honour he wroot ful many a lyne;
O now thine helpe and thi promocion,
To God thi sone make amocion
How he thi servaunt was, mayden Marie,
And lat his love floure and fructifie." [58]

To yield their homage to the Virgin our writers put forth all their inventive faculties; new canticles in her praise, to be sung at church, were composed and arranged to music of the newest modes and sweetest measure, while the older hymns begging her prayers were not forgotten, but made the

[57] The poem is given at full by Nicolas, *Battle of Agincourt*, Appendix, p. 69.

[58] Occleve's Works, *MS. Harl.*, 4866, fol. 91.

ground whereon to set some graceful variations, not of sentiment, but in the wording. The "Salve Regina" thus came not only to be expanded, but the very way in which its enlarged and additional verses were set out upon the vellum roll had a meaning easily to be understood. Its strophes ran

up like so many radii from a circumference to one centre, whereat was figured our Blessed Lady with her arms enfolding the sacred child.[59] The circle

[59] To Jesus College, Oxford, now belongs one of such "Salve Regina" rolls. Our Blessed Lady, holding our Lord as a child in her arms, is made the centre of a circle, the rim of which is formed by words designating the state and condition of those who form the church, as "populus, clerus, pusillanimes, miseri, &c." From

(313) out of which these metrical radii sprang towards the common centre—Jesus held by Mary—was made out of words that told what class among the people spoke those lines, and what their wants and woes. Thus, by a happy thought, as beautiful as true, we are given to know that the wretched, the down-hearted, the sorrowful—lay-folks, clergy, women, all mankind—the whole Church—may look to Mary, for help through the prayers (314) which in behalf of such as ask her, she puts up to her Divine Son.[60] Parts of these hymns and suppli-

this rim run up to the centre seven spoke-like lines of words, written in burnished gold, and speaking as it were the feelings of the people—the "clerus," &c., thus: "O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Maria, Salve"; and the initial letter of each spoke is contrived to be the initial of that body of the people written on the rim, and from whom it is meant to arise; for instance, "O clemens, &c.," springs from the "clerus." Between each pair of spokes we find eight Leonine verses, of which the following strophe is a specimen:—

Salve Regina, mater miseris medicina,
Lux matutina, rosa, flos, et stella marina,
Clavis es ut credo celestis apertio vale (valve?),
Vite dulcedo, spes nostra piissima, salve.
Celi, virgo, decor, assumpta suis benedicis,
Sancta Maria, precor, miseris succurre relictis,
Nobis succurre, nobis miseris miserere,
Pacis et in turre tecum da Virgo manere.

The reader will have no doubt observed that there are double rhymes in these verses—in the middle as well as at the endings; thus "credo" with "dulcedo"—"decor" with "precor"—"succurre" with "turre."

[60] Corresponding with the seven spokes, and running round as a rim to the circle in the manuscript mentioned in last note, are these seven words — Miseri, Pusillanimes, Fflebiles, Populus, Clerus, Femine—to tell, as it were, that the praises and petitions to Mary in the strophes under which they lie, are sent up to her from that particular class among God's Church which they denominate.

cations were traced in characters of burnished gold; the limner's hand, too, shed a many-tinted beauty on the scroll; and thus, in honour of our Lady, was often wrought, by the poet's pen and the illuminator's pencil, a work which royalty itself felt glad to have.[61] In fulfilment, as it were, of what by the Holy Ghost's bidding Mary had foretold of herself, that all generations should call her blessed,[62] Englishmen loved to greet her in the greeting words of the archangel Gabriel and St. Elizabeth,[63] and say to her:—"Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus."[64] Had

[61] The manuscript in Jesus College, Oxford, of which we have just spoken, must have been written out expressly for, and undoubtedly once belonged to, Margaret of Anjou, queen to Henry VI., as her portrait and shield of arms are figured below the circle.

[62] *St. Luke*, i. 48.

[63] *Ibid.*, i. 28, 42.

[64] Sir William de Clinton, in his bequests to the priory of Maxstock (which he founded A.D. 1336), directs, "after mattens of the Blessed Virgin finished in the quire, and the Mass of the same, and at the end of every houre, the priest celebrating the Mass, and the performer of the office, with the same voice that he concludeth it; to use the angelique salutation of our Lady, and recommendation of her mother, in this manner: Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum; benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus. Amen. Et benedicta sit venerabilis mater tua Anna, ex qua tua caro virginea et immaculata processit;—whereunto the quire shall answer, Amen."—Dugdale, *Warwicks.*, ii. 998.

Barely, however, three hundred years old is that beautiful prayer to our Blessed Lady, as we now have it: "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and at the hour of our death. Amen." As every one knows, the "Hail Mary" consists of three parts; but few perhaps are aware that the last part, beginning

(315) we been living three hundred years ago, we might have strengthened the remark made by one

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with "Holy Mary," &c., was unknown to, and therefore never said by, our countrymen while England was Catholic. The first part is made up of those words with which the archangel greeted Mary, when he said, "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee," &c. (*St. Luke*, i. 28). The second contains those uttered by St. Elizabeth, as, filled with the Holy Ghost, she cried out at meeting with our Lady, "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb" (*ibid.*, 42). The first time these greetings were employed by the Church in her public service, was at the end of the sixth century, when the Roman pontiff, St. Gregory the Great, put them as an offertory for the fourth Sunday in Advent, in his new arrangement of the Roman Missal, wherein they are still to be found. For ages this was the only time during the year these words were used either in public or in private prayer. Among the Anglo-Saxons there is not the slightest trace of the "Hail Mary." In his letter to Archbishop Ecgberht, Beda speaks only of the "Our Father," and the "Belief," as those prayers which all lay-folks were to be taught to say morning and evening, and which that saint tells us he had himself lately turned into Anglo-Saxon for the use of the unlearned: In prædicatione populis exhibenda, hoc præ ceteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam, quæ apostolorum symbolo continetur, et Dominicam orationem quam sancti Evangelii nos scriptura edocet, omnium qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriæ radicitus infigere cures. . . . Propter quod et ipse multis sæpe sacerdotibus idiotis hæc utraque, et Symbolum videlicet, et Dominicam orationem, in linguam Anglorum translatam obtuli.—*Epistola ad Ecgberctum* [*P.L.*, xciv. 659]. That Beda's words were heeded by his friend, we know from the fact, that among the instructions sent out to his clergy by Ecgberht one was: Ut unusquisque sacerdos orationem Dominicam et symbolum populo sibi commisso curiose insinuet.—*Excerpt. Ecgberti*, vi., in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 98. The Council of Clovesho (A.D. 747) speaks of the Lord's Prayer and the Belief as those prayers, the meaning of which each priest must be able to make his people understand (Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 96). By the canons enacted in King Edgar's reign, every father was to teach his children the Pater Noster and Creed; and every man was to "learn so that he know the Pater Noster and Creed, if he wish to be in a hallowed grave, or be worthy of housel," &c.—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 249. "The mass-priest," says the twenty-third of Ælfric's canons, "shall, on

of our (316) old writers, how "some use when they here the fende named in play or in wrath,

Sundays and mass-days, tell to the people the sense of the gospel in English, and concerning the Pater Noster and the Creed also." —*Ibid.*, 351.

We get now to the time of the Anglo-Normans; yet still there is no mention of the "Hail Mary." Had such a form of prayer been known, either in England or elsewhere, up to A.D. 1172, St. Godric—who died in that year in his hermitage at Finchale, Durham, and whose heart had ever glowed with such a very warm love for

> Seinte Marie, Christes bour,
> Meidenes clenhed, moderes flour,

(Wendover, *Flores Hist.*, ed. Coxe, ii. 349) [*R.S.*, lxxxiv. i. 73]—would have assuredly been but too glad to have said it along with the "Our Father" and the "Belief," which it was his wont, while yet a youth in the world, to repeat often to himself as he went along the road:—Nam et Orationem Dominicam cum symbolo, quæ ab ipsis cunabulis ante didicerat, sæpe etiam solus per vias longiores gradiens frequentius ruminabat.—*Libellus de Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, &c., ed. Stevenson, p. 28. Up to the year 1212 the "Our Father," but no "Hail Mary," was said before each of the canonical hours, according to Lincoln use: Dum oratio dicitur dominicalis, quæ quamlibet horam præcedere debet, stare debent ad altare conversi.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 535. Among the constitutions set forth A.D. 1229 by William de Bleys, the viiith enjoins: Ut in pœnitentia laico injungenda specialiter injungatur ei, ut septies in die dicat orationem dominicam cum symbolo apostolorum, &c.—*Ibid.*, 624.

In the year 1237 we light on the first formal mention of the "Hail Mary" in England; and it was made by Alexander de Stavenby, bishop of Coventry, who lays it down: Quod quilibet Christianus et quælibet Christiana dicat omni die septies suum "Pater noster," quia septies in die debet laudare Dominum, juxta prophetam, &c. Similiter septem "Ave Maria" et bis suum "Credo," &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 642. At that time, however, besides the name "Mary," this salutation had in it no other words but those uttered by Gabriel and St. Elizabeth, till Pope Urban IV., (between A.D. 1261 and 1264), added at the end, "Jesus Christ, Amen."—Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* vii., Preface, p. lxiii. This addition is mentioned and required by Ralph, bishop of Bath and Wells (A.D. 1347) (see note 88, further on), and in this form, neither

to say Ave Maria; (317) that lyke as he joyeth of the vycyous namynge of hys owne name, so is he rebuked by namynge of (318) thys holy name Maria."[65] But among all our countrymen's religious exercises in reverence of the

longer nor shorter, was it always said in England while the country remained Catholic. In the Salisbury "Hore beatissime Virginis," printed by Regnault (A.D. 1526), we find it given at length (fol. xlviii.) thus: Ave Maria gracia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus: et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen. It is to be found at Coggeshall, Essex, graven on a grave-brass, of about the same period (Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 376). It is so worded, with the holy name "Jesus" left out, in "The Primer in English and Latin, after Salisburie Use," printed by Caly (A.D. 1556); and in the "Shepheard's Kalender." That precious, and (to liturgical students) most valuable *Boke callyd the Myrroure of Oure Lady*, of which I have a quite perfect copy, gives us the like form, with the holy name at the end; but tells us:—Some saye at the begynnyng of this salutacyon, Ave benigne Jesu, and some saye after Maria, mater Dei, wyth other addycyons at the end also. And suche thynges maye be sayde when folke saye theyr Aves of theyr owne deuocyon. But in the seruyce of the chyrche, I trowe yt to be moste sewer, and moste medefull to obey to the comon use of saynge, as the chyrche hathe set without all suche addiciones (fol. xl.) [ed. Blunt, E.E.T.S. (1873), p. 79]. The folio edition of the Sarum Breviary, printed at Paris (A.D. 1531), is the only Salisbury book which I know that gives the "Ave Maria" as we now say it. In one of the last books of prayers printed in Catholic England, the "Ave Maria" is as follows:—

Hail Mary, ful of grace, our Lorde is with thee: Blessed art thou among women, & blessed is the fruyte of thy wombe. Amen.	Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus: et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Amen.

—*The Primer in English and Latin, after Salisburie use*, &c. (A.D. 1556), in ædibus Roberti Caly (Sig. A. vii.). Cherishing, as they did, such a strong love and devotion for our Blessed Lady, the Anglo-Saxons, and those who immediately came after them, would have been as glad as we are to say, had it then been known, the beautiful prayer, the "Hail Mary," as we now have it.

[65] *Myrroure of Oure Lady*, fol. xl. [pp. 78, 79, ed. Blunt].

(319) B. V. Mary, the commonest, the most liked and generally followed in later times, was the repetition of this same salutation or "Hail Mary," wrought (320) up into a particular devotion, which for a length of time continued to be called

Our Lady's Psalter,

but is now better known as

The Rosary.

This form of prayer, once in daily use among Englishmen from the highest to the lowest, was meant, and is well fitted, to set before the faithful some of those points which stand out foremost in the Christian's belief. However much it may seem to bid us invoke the mother, the end of the Rosary is, in truth, to make us think of, love, and worship the Son.

This is a form of devotion which consists of one hundred and fifty "Hail Marys" and fifteen "Our Fathers," so distributed that after every tenth "Hail Mary" comes an "Our Father." The commonest, though not the only appliance, for reckoning these prayers was, and still is, a string of beads so put together that every set of ten smaller ones for the "Hail Marys," is parted by a larger bead, to tell when the "Our Father" must be recited.

Though neither the Saxons nor the Anglo-

Normans knew what we now mean by the Rosary, for it was after their times that it came into use, still its roots, so to say, reach back to their days, since the prayer itself grew up from a devotional usage much thought of and followed among both (321) those people. With the Anglo-Saxons it was a favourite custom to say, in some instances daily, the whole Book of Psalms, or as it was and is called, the Psalter, for the welfare of their living friends and in behoof of the souls of those who were dead. To such as could not learn by heart all these one hundred and fifty psalms, or were unable to read them, so many "Our Fathers" were enjoined instead. This kind of substitution of prayers for psalms, which in time got the name of "psalter," by bringing lay-folks—men and women —to do, after their way, what the clergy did, linked both parts of the Church together, was much liked by the people, and long outlived the Saxon period. After many years had flown by under Norman rule in England, a still shorter sort of devotion—so many "Hail Marys"—took place of the "Lord's Prayer." Thus not only grown-up men and women, amid the stir and business of life, but youth, children even, by repeating their CL soon-said "Aves" for the same number of the psalms of David, could, while abroad in the field as well as in the house at home, join themselves with their clergy beneath the church's roof, in worshipping their Maker. Though this form of

prayer, so short and easy that any one could learn it, took up but little of their time, they were deemed thereby to have gone through their psalter; and this, as it now came to be made up of "Hail Marys," or greetings of the (322) Blessed Virgin, got the name of "the psalter of our Lady."[66]

We cannot speak of Mary, but we must think of Jesus: while we dwell on the joys, and sorrows, and the gladsome emotions of the Virgin mother, we are reading the life, the death, the uprising of her Divine Son. Thoroughly knowing and feeling this, our Catholic forefathers wrought out of it much ghostly good to themselves, by the way in which they gave, as they went through the Rosary, a meaning to each part into which they divided and subdivided this devotion.[67] The whole of its

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[66] See before, p. 109, in the note, and the passage further on, referred to at note 84. Talking of the "modus orandi, postremo inventus, per calculos," Polydore Vergil says: Id divæ Mariæ virginis Psalterium nuncupant.—*De Rerum Invent.*, l. v., c. ix. 337.

[67] How the saying of the beads, or rosary, was meant to bring to mind the life and death of Christ, may be seen in the method laid down for this devotion in any of our old prayer-books. The Salisbury "Hours of the B. V. Mary" gives the following form, and tells us that it is a compendium of the life of Jesus:

Suscipe rosarium, Virgo, deauratum:
Jesu per compendium vita decoratum.
Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus
tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus; et
benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen.
Quem Virgo carens vicio de flamine concepisti:
Dum Gabrieli nuncio humilime consensisti,
Ave Maria.

(323) CL "Aves" they distributed into three equal portions, so that each of them may bring to mind a (324) period of time remarkable for some five of the more prominent events in our Redeemer's history. The first portion contains those which are called "the joys of Mary," or the "joyful mysteries," and are the Annunciation—the Visitation—the

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Quo impregnata citius cognatam visitasti:
Johannemque celerius in ventre sanctificasti,
Ave Maria.
Quem civitate Bethleem letando genuisti:
Neque dolorem aliquem gignendo pertulisti,
Ave Maria.
Quem regis David genere mox natum adorasti:
Ac vagientem ubere virgineo lactasti:
Ave Maria.
Quem in panni fasciis constrictum reclinasti:
Et suis obsequiis te totam mancipasti,
Ave Maria.
Quem mꝛgno cum tripudio angeli laudaverunt:
Pacemque cum gaudio in terra cecinerunt,
Ave Maria.
Quem pastorem omnium pastores cognoverunt:
Dum presepe Dominum jacentem invenerunt,
Ave Maria.
Qui juxta ritum hominis passus circumcisionem:
Dulcis Jesu nominis cepit impositionem,
Ave Maria.
Qui a tribus regibus ferventer adoratur:
Magnisque muneribus decenter veneratur,
Pī. Ave Maria.

In the same style as these ten, are written the other forty salutations contained in the first part of the rosary.—*Hore Beatissime Virginis Marie*, &c., fol. xlviii., &c., Regnault, 1526. The way for saying the rosary after this manner, was often explained to the people in the works put forth during those times, as we may see, among other examples, by a book entitled,—The Rosary, with the articles of the lyfe ꝺ deth of Jesu Chryst and peticiōs directe to our lady. Imprynted at London in Fauster-lane by Johñ Skot, A.D. 1537.—*Typographical Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, iii. 76.

Birth of Christ—His being carried as a baby to the temple—the finding of Him there, when a boy, among the teachers. The second portion bids us think of our Lord and His bloody sweat in the garden—His being scourged at the pillar—His crowning with thorns—His walking to Calvary with His cross upon His shoulders—His being nailed and uplifted on that rood; and these are known as "Mary's sorrows," or the "sorrowful mysteries." The third portion brings to mind Christ's uprising from the grave—His going up to heaven—the coming down of the Holy Ghost on the apostles—the Assumption of the B. V. Mary—her receiving amid the saints above the diadem of glory; and these we call the "glorious mysteries." At the end of each portion of these passages in the history of Jesus and the Virgin, was said the "Creed," to tell the world, as well as strengthen within himself, the reciter's belief in all Christ's doctrines.

This devotion, either in its whole or its parts, (325) was a form of prayer which the founders of our colleges and other pious establishments frequently enjoined upon all those who might at any time hereafter be allowed to partake of their benefits.[68] Henry VI. wished that the scholars of

[68] Among other devout works to be done by his beadsmen, for his soul, after his death, Henry, Lord Marney, wishes them to say our Lady's Psalter (see before, p. 109). Anne Buckenham wills "to a poore bodie, by the space of an whole yeare, that wolde saye ye psalter of oure Ladye everie Saturdaye ob."—*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmund's*, p. 138.

Eton should every day repeat the whole psalter of our blessed Lady ;[69] and that great good man, who built and so munificently endowed St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, required each of its members to recite one third part of this psalter, on their knees.[70] From (326) these and other evidences, it would appear there was a difference between what, truly speaking, used then to be looked upon as the psalter and the rosary of the Blessed Virgin ; the psalter consisted of as many "Hail Marys" as there were psalms, that is, of a hundred and fifty, separated into tens by fifteen "Our Fathers" ; the rosary was any one of the three parts, or fifty "Hail Marys," with five "Our Fathers." [71]

[69] Post quæ similiter dicant ante tempus altæ Missæ in ecclesia, vel cimiterio, aut claustro ejusdem, in remissionem eorum quæ deliquerunt per abusum quinque sensuum, quinquies orationem prædictam (dominicam) adjungentes post singulas orationes prædictas denas salutationes angelicas cum unò symbolo in fide pro confirmatione fidei Christianæ ; sic quod in tempore quo dicentur matutinæ ac aliæ horæ aut omnino ante altam Missam, dicant completum Psalterium Beatæ Virginis computando semper in hujusmodi psalterio quindecies orationem dominicam et centum quinquaginta "Ave Maria" ac insuper unum "Credo."—*Statutes of Eton College*, cap. lvi.

[70] "We will," ordains Bishop Wayneflete, "that the president and each of the fellows of the said college do say in honour and remembrance of the most Blessed Virgin, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all possible devoutness, on their bended knees, fifty times over, the angelical salutation, together with the Lord's prayer, after every ten rehearsals of the salutation aforesaid."—*Statutes of Magdalen College*, p. 98.

[71] A rare and richly-illustrated work on the rosary (printed at Venice, A.D. 1559), makes the distinction : Tutti li quindeci Pater Nostri e cento e cinquanta Ave Marie si dimanda il Psalterio, & una delle tre parti ; cioè cinque pater nostri e cinquanta Ave Marie,

When any kind of supplication is to be repeated over for a prescribed number of times, an appliance, fashioned after some sort or another for reckoning them, must needs be used. Our Anglo-Saxons had their "belts" of Pater nosters,[72] and that noble Anglo-Saxon lady, Godiva, told her prayers on gems threaded together for that purpose;[73] and the (327) ankret of Finchale, St. Godric, used little stones.[74] For saying the rosary, beads were in England employed very generally, though not to the exclusion of other modes, for numbering its "Hail Marys" and "Our Fathers."[75] These strings of beads were (328) mostly of two lengths,[76] one of

si dimanda il Rosario della beatissima vergine Maria—*Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, fol. 20v.

[72] See pp. 6 and 7 of this volume. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[74] Et quia orationum multitudine consueta plurimum oneratus exstiterat, ne forte aliquas, ignorantia duce, intermittat, lapides calculares habuit, quibus earum numerus computabat.—*Libel. de Vita . . . S. Godrici*, 225.

[75] The beads for saying the rosary went by several names,—"a pair of beads"; "a pair of Pater nosters"; "ave beads"; but never were they called "a rosary." Thus Sir Thos. Ughtred, knight, says in his will (A.D. 1398): Lego . . . j par de paters nosters de auro, cum j annulo et uno ouche de auro.—*Test. Eborac.*, p. 243. Sir Thos. More tells us how the old folks of his days walked "pit pat upon a paire of patens wyth the staffe in the tone hande and the *Pater noste* in the tother hande."—*Works*, London, 1557, p. 593. Speaking of these beads, and their use, Polydore Vergil says: Est modus orandi postremo inventus, per calculos, ut ita dicam, ligneos: quos vulgus modo preculas, modo paternostros appellat.—*De Rerum Invent.*, V. ix. 337.

[76] Not often do we find beads in one set for the whole psalter (one hundred and fifty "Aves") mentioned, though of such notices do now and then occur. Sometimes, in old deeds, we are told of a set of beads amounting to more than one hundred and fifty; but the superfluous number seems to have been added merely by way of ornament: thus, for instance, Anne Barett leaves to her "god-

fifty—the other of no more than ten "Aves." This shorter one was carried in the hand, fastened to the little finger by a ring, from which it fell in a straight line;[77] the longer one used to be worn slung, as it was circular, about the arm, or hanging somewhere upon the person,[78] and not unfrequently

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dought[r] a payr bedys of corall of thryse sexty."—*Wills of Bury St. Edmund's*, p. 98. We may, however, see how the additional ten were put there, not for use, but to set off the Pater Nosters, or larger ones; for, in another will, there is bequeathed "a peyre of bedys with pater n̄ris of gold, and on̄ eche syde of the pa^tn̄ris a bede of coral, and the Ave Maryes of colour aftir marbil with a knoppe, othir wyse callyd a tufft, of blak sylke, and ther in a litil nowche of gold, with smal perle and stoonys."—*Ibid.*, 36. At the present day strings of beads are to be met with of seventy "Aves," and they are for saying the rosary of the seven dolours of the B. V. Mary.

[77] John Baret (A.D. 1463) leaves, by his will, "to my Lady Walgrave, a litil peyre of bedys of silvir of x. and with a knoppe of gold with ꝑle, a rowund ryng of the kynge silvir," and to John Clopton "a peyre bedys of sylvir w^t x. avees and ij. pa^tn̄ris of sylvir and gilt."—*Wills of Bury St. Edmund's*, pp. 35, 42. Isabella Salvayn (A.D. 1499) says: Lego Aliciæ sorori meæ j par de precibus. Item . . . unum annulum aureum pendentem per predictas preces.—*Test. Eborac.*, p. 419. And Sir R. Towgall, priest (A.D. 1541), amongst his bequests enumerates: A dovsen aum' beids with a gyemis ring . . . and a pair of avmer beyds gardit with siluer gardis.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 117.

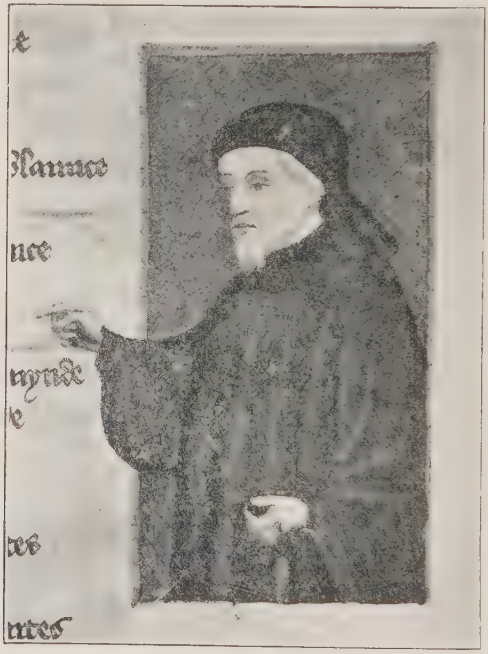
[78] Almost everybody, during Catholic times, carried about a set of beads; and in bringing before us his Canterbury pilgrims, Chaucer does not forget to tell us of the nun, how

> Ful fetis was hir cloke, as I was war.
> Of smal coral aboute hire arm she bar
> A peire of bedes, gauded al with grene;
> And ther-on heng a broche of gold ful shene, &c.

—Chaucer, *Prologue*, 157–160 [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, 421]. This description, although of one bound to a religious life, might have been, however, applied to most people of those days; for Chaucer's self, in the only original portrait which has come down to us of him, is shown as holding in his left hand a short rosary the ten "aves" of which are black, and the string that threads them red

were they (329) as precious as art,[79] or as costly as the richest materials could make them.[80] In-

(*MS. Harl.*, 4866, fol. 91). [See below.] Among the woodcuts in Caxton's folio edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, "the clerke of Oxenforde" wears his beads, of fifty "aves," slung belt-like over his shoulder as he rides; and "the Nonne" carries hers upon her left arm. [See opposite page.] When Burghley wanted Queen Mary



CHAUCER'S PORTRAIT

to employ him in her government, one of the hypocritical means by which he tried to cheat her into the belief of his friendly feelings towards the old faith, was to walk about Stamford with a rosary in his hands. Truly did the future unprincipled minister of Elizabeth exemplify the remark of Polydore Vergil, who, in speaking of the beads, said: Hodie tantus honor ejusmodi calculis accessit ut sint . . . et hypocritis præcipui fucosæ bonitatis instrumenti.—*De Rerum Invent.*, V. ix. 337.

Clerke's Tale

Nonne's Tale

stead of beads, finger-rings (330) of gold or silver, having ten low knobs for the "Aves," and a higher and broader one showing the crucifix wrought on it for the "Pater noster," were occasionally worn;[81] and some persons (331) there were, who, like Archbishop Winchelsey, said our Lady's psalter, not by telling their beads, but their fingers.[82]

[79] The Duke of Devonshire possesses a rosary in wood, which once belonged to Henry VIII. On its large beads are figured all the mysteries in our Saviour's life, compared with the principal events of the Old Testament. It is a specimen of most elegant carving, and its workmanship shows the patience as well as the light hand of him who wrought it.

[80] Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, bequeaths (A.D. 1361) to his nephew, "a pair of gold paternosters of fifty pieces, with ornaments, together with a cross of gold, in which is a piece of the true cross."—*Test. Vet.*, i. 67. To the Archbishop of Canterbury, William of Wykeham leaves by will, "a pair of beads of gold, appended from a bracelet of gold, having these words engraved on them: I. H. S. est amor meus."—*Ibid.*, ii. 767. Mr. Howard, of Corby, possesses the rosary which poor Mary, Queen of Scots, had with her when she was beheaded: the beads are large and all of gold; once they were enamelled, and some slight traces of colour yet streak them. The late Mrs. Howard's maid took it into her head that the rosary ought to be cleaned, and, without saying a word to any one, boiled it some time in water: when taken out, the enamel was found to have dropped off. If the giddy maid was startled, the good mistress was deeply hurt, as I heard from her own lips, at this most sad mishap. Mr. Howard's father got this rosary as a bequest from Charles, Duke of Norfolk.

[81] Such rings may be met with in private collections of old jewellery: I have seen more than one myself so preserved. "My ring with the five roses," which the Countess of Oxford leaves (A.D. 1537) to her niece (*Test. Vet.*, ii. 674), was, it seems to me, a rosary ring of some kind. The "Aves" could have been easily told on the fingers of one hand, and the "Pater nosters" on this ring worn upon a finger of the other.

[82] Of Robert of Winchelsey (Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1295), we are told:—Virginem Mariam amore spiritualissimo prædilexit; et ipsam post Deum præ sanctis omnibus honorabat. Unde Salutationem Angelicam finitis occupationibus necessariis per numerum

Why this devotion was called the rosary, we do not know; the term, however, is a happy one. Perhaps it may have been a beautiful thought, which, like so many others of the kind, was called forth by ecclesiastical symbolism. The prayers forming the circle of the beads were likened to sweet flowers, fit to make a wreath wherewith to crown our Lady, or to be worn as their garland by those who love her. That at least such hallowing imaginings shed their sunshine and their wholesome warmth upon (332) our forefathers' hearts whilom in England, seems doubtless, from the following passage out of an old writer:—

"There was a lordisman y^{t} had gadered moche god of his lordis, for he was his rente gaderer; and went to bere yt to his lord. Thenne was ther theves that sette for him to robbe by the waye in the wood, ther as he must nedys goo thorug. So whan he come in to the wood, he betoughte hym that he had not sayde our Lady saulter, as he was wonte to doo; and he kneeled downe and began to saye: thene come our Lady like a fayr mayde, and sette a garlande on his hede; and atte eche ave she set a rose in the garlonde, that was so

digitorum suorum, quocunque se diverteret, semper dixit: ... Unde post ejus obitum accidit admirandum, quod qui Domini sui devoti stantes juxta funus ejus, dum dictam Virginis Salutationem more ipsius dixissent, occulata fide dixerant se vidisse pollicem manus dicti defuncti discurrere per articulos digitorum prout ipse, dum vixit, consuevit facere cum devotione corporis et cordis.—Stephen Birchington, *Vita Roberti de Winchelsee Arch. Cantuar.*, in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 13.

bryghte that al the wood shone thereof: and whan he had done he kyssed the erth :[83] and wente his waye. Thene come the theves and toke him, and ladde hym to her mayster, the whyche had seen all thise doynges, thenne sayd he to him : what woman was that, that set the garlonde on thy ede? and hy sayd: syre, forsothe I see noo woman ne garlonde. Thenne sayd the mayster thefe, I wote welle thou arte a lordisman, and hast moche good with the ; but I wolde faine wytte what woman that it was that (333) come to the, and why thou knelest downe. And he sayde : whan I see you I was aferde, and also I bethought me that I had not sayde our Lady saulter : and I kneled downe to say it, prayng our Ladi to helpe me atte my nede. Thenne sayd he : for her love goo thy way, and pray to her for us : and so he went his waie saaf and sounde, by helpe and socour of our dere Ladi." [84]

To beads, as to every other Catholic practice, the English people of themselves were strongly attached ; and for several years after the introduction of Protestantism, their use was kept up in many parts of the kingdom.[85]

[83] To kiss the ground upon which they had been kneeling at prayer, before rising up, seems to have been a common usage with our forefathers : just as they were about to begin the onset at Agincourt, the English knelt and prayed and kissed the ground (see before, p. 248).

[84] *The Festival*, ed. Morin, Rouen, 1499, fol. xlvi^{v}.

[85] In one of his injunctions, put forth A.D. 1571 (that is, in the XIIIth year of Elizabeth's reign), Grindall thought it necessary to

(334) This was not the only method after which the "Hail Mary" was said to honour the B. Virgin. In some of those houses built and endowed for the secular clergy, that they might live together near the church which they served, the statutes required all their inmates to join and sing in a solemn manner at the end of every meal, a hymn, and say an "Ave," as a greeting to Christ's well-beloved mother.[86] To chant Mary's praises by way of evening prayer, seems to have been a

forbid this old Catholic devotion, thus:—"No persons to wear beads, or pray either in Latin or English upon beads or knots, or any other like superstitious (!) thing."—Wilkins, *Concil.*, iv. 269. The heads of the Protestant establishment had strong proof of the people's attachment to this way of prayer. Among the evidences taken about the stir made in the north of England (A.D. 1569) for bringing back the old worship, Elizabeth Watson's acknowledgment is that "she used hir beads."—*Depositions, &c., from the Courts of Durham*, p. 160. And Alice Wilkinson said "that she occupied her gaudes as many thowsand dyd."—*Ibid.*, p. 164. Full twenty years later (A.D. 1589), the use of beads was kept up in Wales, as we learn from a Protestant writer, who tells us:—"Also the people do carye Beades openlye, and make suche clappings with them in the church, as that a man can hardely here the minister read for the noice thereof, alledginge that they can read upon their beades, as well as others upon books."—Leland, *Collect.*, ii. 649.

[86] Statuimus quod iidem sacerdotes ac successores sui pro dominis E. R. (Edwardo III.), ac magistro Waltero de Hulle . . . singulis diebus inperpetuum, prandio, et cœna sua seu collatione finitis, ad honorem beatæ Mariæ virginis totam hanc sequentiam "Benedicta es, cœlorum regina, et mundi totius domina" . . . decantent solemniter in communi præfatusque minister vel unus de consodalibus suis subsequent. hunc versiculum, "Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum," &c., et hanc orationem, "Deus qui beatam Mariam virginem in conceptu et in partu, servata virginitate divino gaudio lætificasti" . . . dicat et devotius prosequatur. —*Constitutiones R. de Salopia, episc. Bath et Well.*, in Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 737.

devotional exercise followed by many in those days. Chaucer hints at it when, in sketching the "poure scoler" and his room at "Oxenforde," he tells us how

> His Almageste and bokes grete and smale
> . . . . .
> On shelves couched at his beddes heed,
> His presse y-covered with a falding reed.
> (335) And al above ther lay a gay sautrye.
> On which he made a nightes melodye,
> So swetely, that al the chambre rong;
> And *Angelus ad virginem* he song.[87]

The first half of the XIV century witnessed the beginning of that pious practice,

The Tolling,

every morning and evening,

Of the "Ave" Bell.

Like several other religious observances now very widely spread, the beautiful devotion connected with this custom took its rise from private piety, and slowly grew into a part of the Church's rite.

In England as elsewhere lived men who, because their hearts were as warm as their heads were strong, thought that no day should go by without a homage made to Christ through the

[87] *The Milleres Tale* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, p. 459].

honour rendered to Mary; who deemed that one way of showing their love for their neighbours, was to pray to heaven for them when dead; and, that such entreaties might be sooner answered, to beg the mother of that flesh and blood through which the Son of God paid to His Father our ransom from sin and hell, that she would help us in this work of (336) charity by adding her supplications unto ours. Under these feelings, old at the time, was it that in his Constitutions, drawn up A.D. 1347, by Ralph de Salopia, bishop of Bath and Wells, for those among the cathedral clergy who lived together in a collegiate body, that prelate required them, and all their successors for ever, to say, the first thing in the morning, five "Aves," and the last at night, as many more, in honour of the B. V. Mary, and for their living benefactors' weal, and the souls' good of such as were dead.[88]

A form of devotion which many persons had long used in private, John XXII., who sat upon St. Peter's chair from A.D. 1316 till 1334, raised to the distinction of a public rite, which, as we

[88] Statuimus quod iidem sacerdotes et successores sui singulis diebus cum de lectis suis surrexerint, et singulis noctibus cum cubaverint, pro dominis E. R. (Edwardo III.) et pro magistris Walt. et Johanne supradictis agentibus in humanis et pro eorum salubri statu quandiu vixerint et pro animabus suis cum ab hac luce subtracti fuerint, necnon pro animabus Isaac, Matildæ . . . quinquies salutationem angelicam cum hac adjectione, "Jesus, Amen," ad honorem beatæ Mariæ virginis genitricis Dei, dicant perpetuis futuris temporibus humiliter et devote.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, ii. 736, 737.

learn from the pontiff's words, then consisted of three "aves" said every evening at curfew-time.[89] For (337) a great number of years before John XXII.'s pontificate, not only throughout France, where he was living at Avignon, but all over England, there was rung, every evening the year round, in each cathedral as well as little parish church, the "ignitegium" or curfew-bell. This was done, however, at first for a civil, not an ecclesiastical purpose. If this curfew did not give pious individuals the earliest thought of saying the "Ave" at night-fall, the ringing of this bell was in itself so seasonable, that it was looked upon and employed as a happy incident for calling upon the people, whether in town or country—throughout the land in fact—to say their greetings to the Virgin at sun-down. This public evening devotion to St. Mary soon spread itself over Christendom, and was quick in reaching England. But it grew as it went on; and, very shortly, an enactment came forth from the archbishop of Canterbury, at the earnest wish of our Henry IV., that what was done at night should also be performed in the morning too, so that on awaking at the beginning, as well as

[89] Item auctoritate dicti concilii præcipimus quod observetur inviolabiliter ordinatio facta per sanctæ memoriæ Joannem papam vicesimum secundum, de dicendo ter *Ave Maria* tempore seu hora ignitegii, in qua ordinatione conceditur certa indulgentia dicentibus ter *Ave Maria* dictis tempore et hora.—*Concil.*, Paris (A.D. 1346), can. xiii., *Concil. Gener.*, ed. Coleti, xv. 613.

before going to sleep at the end of day, this land might think of, and yield its homage to, Christ's blessed mother.[90] (338) So stood this form of public prayer, consisting of one "Our Father" and five[91] "Hail Marys" in England, till England cast away her first, her olden faith. In many and many of those grey church-towers which we so often see peeping at us over the trees as we wander by, there yet hangs the very bell,—

THE GABRIEL BELL,

—so our fathers called it[92]—which the sexton had (339) to ring at morn and evening every

[90] Thomas permissione divina Cantuarien. archiepiscopus . . . venerabili fratri nostro domino Roberto Dei gratia Londonien. episcopo salutem . . . ad ipsius domini nostri regis (Henrici IV.) specialem rogatum fraternitati vestræ firmiter injungendo mandamus quatenus vestrarum civitatis et dioeces. . . . subditos dominam nostram Dei genitricem Mariam, nostramque patronam et semper protectricem in adversis causis consimili orationis et precis instinctu, ac consuetæ pulsationis forma, quibus ad ignitegii pulsationem devotio Christi fidelium venerari consuevit, eandem quæ ante diem in aurora pulsatur, procuretis pari orationis et pulsationis modo . . . in monasteriis, ac ecclesiis collegiatis et parochialibus . . . omnibus Christi fidelibus per nostras civitatem, dioec. et provinciam Cantuarien. ubilibet constitutis, de peccatis suis vere poenitentibus et confessis qui orationem dominicam, et quinquies salutationes angelicas in pulsatione matutinali dixerint mente pia, totiens quotiens, quadraginta dies indulgentiæ concedimus.—Wilkins, *Conc.*, iii. 246, 247. This mandate was sent forth by Abp. Arundel, A.D. 1399.

[91] This number "five"—for the times they then said the "Hail Mary"—was in all likelihood meant and understood to be symbolical of the B. Virgin's five joys, which our forefathers so much loved to celebrate.—See before, pp. 226, 236, 237, &c.

[92] The Gabriel bell is often spoken of in old church-books, and in some places it is known by that name or some corruption of it.

day[93] as a bidding to the people—to the sick in bed,[94] and to the healthy, to those at home, to those abroad[95]—that they should greet our Lady with their five "Hail Marys"; and all about its rim can still be read the quaint verse speaking of the archangel and St. Mary.[96]

The mid-day bell was never rung in England; and the "Angelus," as it is now said in all Catholic (340) countries, did not come into use before the beginning of the XVI century, and seems to have commenced in France.[97]

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[93] Among the churchwardens' accompts for Walberswick come the entries following, for A.D. 1490:—To the sexteyne for his rewar for ryngyng the day-belle. To the sexteyne for ryngyng of the kerfow-belle.—*Illustrations, &c.*, p. 185.

[94] On one of the bells once belonging to St. Giles's church, Norwich, ran this inscription:—

Celi regina, languentibus sit medicina.

—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, iv. 246.

[95] On another bell in Norfolk are inscribed these two lines:—

Hac non vade via, nisi dicas Ave Maria.
Sit semper sine Ve, qui michi dicat Ave.

—*Ibid.*, i. 223.

[96] A very common inscription on Gabriel-bells is this line:—

Hac in conclave, Gabriel nunc pange suave.

Sometimes may be found:—

Missus vero pie Gabriel fert leta Marie.

Again:—

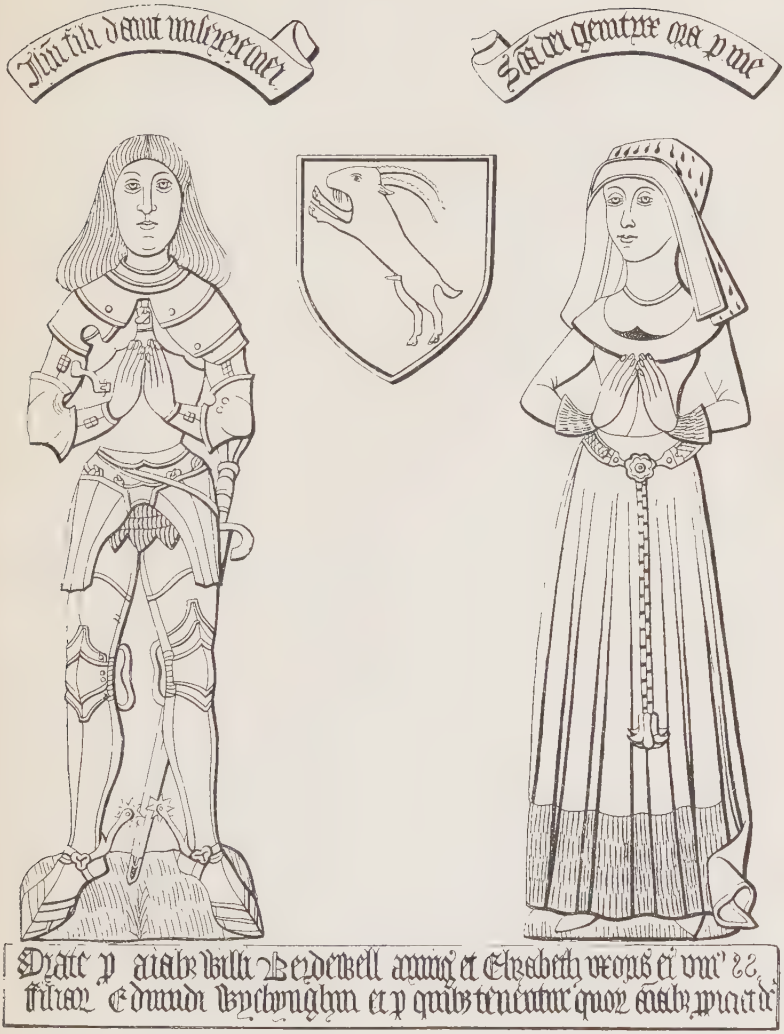
Missus de celis, habeo nomen Gabrielis

upon one bell; and upon another:—

Virgo coronata, duc nos ad regna beata.

—*Ibid*, i. 335. It is likely, I think, that in some places, for ringing the morning and evening "Ave," not one, but two, bells were employed.

[97] Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.*, vii. *Præf.* lx., n. 122.


Jhu fili dauit miserere mei
Sancta dei genitrix ora pro me
Orate pro aiabus Willi Berdewell armig et Elizabeth uxoris ei uni
filiarum Edmundi Wychyngham et pro quibus tenentur quorum aiabus propicietur

In all these warm outpourings from the English heart—in all these gladsome hymns, and sighs for help, and loving greetings (whether the burst of feeling comes from king or churchman, from minstrel or from knight, or lowly hind), the B. Virgin is never besought to forgive sin of herself, but to beg its forgiveness from their and her Redeemer: never is she asked to bestow grace, but to sue her and their Maker to give it them. Unto Jesus did they cry for mercy; Mary they begged to pray for them.[98] The "handmaid of the Lord" was looked (341) upon as one among the appointed bearers of our errands unto heaven,[99] and this very help we

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[98] This proper distinction was always made; and instances of it may be everywhere found in our church-monuments and old literature. On his grave-brass in West Harling church [see previous page], Willm. Berdewell is figured with a scroll bearing this invocation to Christ:—

JHŨ FILI DAUIT MISERERE MEI.

While his wife says:—

SCÃ DEI GENITRIX, ORA P' ME.

—Blomefield, *Norfolk*, i. 304. "Jesu, mercy; Lady, help," is an invocation of perpetual occurrence amid all kinds of ecclesiastical art-work. Our poets often marked this same distinction:—

Than syr Degrevvaunt syght,
And byheld the hevene up-an hyght,
"Jhesus, save me in my ryght
And Maré me spede!"

—*Sir Degrevant*, in *Thornton Romances*, ed. Halliwell, p. 186. What has been said before, in note 59, p. 45, of this volume, will still more illustrate this point.

[99] Ure lafdi S. M., alse wisliche alse hie þis dai was hoven into hevene, bere ure arende to ure loverd Jhesu Crist, þ he gife us eche blisse in hevene.—*English Sermons* (XIII century) *MS. Trin. Coll.*

have from her was deemed a kindness afforded us by the Almighty—one of those many ways He takes to show us His fatherly love by allowing us to have, as our friend and mother, the mother of His Son.[1] (342) Ever wishful as she is that men

Cambridge, printed in *Reliquiæ Antiq.*, i. 130. Peirs Plouhman is made to say:

> For-thi ich counsaile alle cristine · to crye god mercy,
> And marye hus moder · be oure mene to hym,
> Þat god ȝeue ous grace here · er we go hennes,
> Suche workes to worche · whil we ben here,
> That after oure deþ-day · dowel reherce
> At þe day of dome · we dude as he tauhte.—*Amen.*

—*Passus* 346–351 [ed. Skeat, p. 176].

[1] "And we pray Him (God) for [the sake of] His sweet Mother's love that Him bare; and all the help we have of her is of His goodness. . . . And on the same wise, all the help that we have of special saints, and all the blessed Company of Heaven, the dear-worthy love and endless friendship that we have of them, it is of His Goodness. For God of His goodness hath ordained means for to help us, full fair and many."—*Revelations of Divine Love shewed to Mother Juliana* [p. 13, ed. Warrack, 1901]. The writer of this beautiful little book was an ankress at Norwich, A.D. 1373.

"Let us praye than humbly unto the gloryous virgyn Marye whiche is comforte to them that forsake theyr synnes that she wyl make our peas to her blessyd sone, and impetre and gete of hym remyssyon of all our synnes. And after this lyfe to come to the glorye ꝺt joye of heven. To the whiche brynge us the fader, the sonne, and the holy ghost."—*The Golden Legend*, imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, fol. ciij^{v}. The poet's strains were but echoes of the same words put into rhyme, for one of them sings thus:—

> Of on that is so fayr and brigt,
> *velut maris stella,*
> Brigter than the day is ligt,
> *parens et puella.*
> Ic crie to the, thou se to me,
> Levedy, preye thi sone for me,
> *tam pia,*
> That Ic mote come to the
> *Maria.*
> . . . . . .

should know and come unto their and her only Saviour, they believed (343) that Mary prays for us, before we ask her to pray, that we may have the light that will lead us unto Him.[2]

Gemming, as our fathers did, the Virgin's name (344) with every brightest epithet—looking upon her as higher than the highest saints, as more

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Levedi, flour of alle thing
rosa sine spina,
Thu bere Jhesu hevene king
gratia divina,
Of alle thu berst the pris,
Levedi quene of parays
electa.
Mayde milde moder *es*
effecta.
Of karc conseil thu ert best
felix fæcundata,
Of alle wery thu ert rest
mater honorata.
Bisek him wiz milde mod
That for ous allesad is blod
in cruce,
That we moten komen til him
in luce.
Wel he wot he is thi sone
ventrê quem portasti,
He wyl nout werne the thi bone
parvum quem lactasti,
So hende and so god he is,
He havet brout ous to blis
superni, &c.

—British Museum, *MS. Egerton* 613, and printed in *Reliquiæ Antiq.*, i. 89.

[2] For som-tyme, lady, er men praye to thee,
Thou goost biforn of thy benignitee,
And getest us the light, thurgh thy preyere,
To gyden us un-to thy sone so dere.
—Chaucer, *The Prioresses Tale* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, p. 499].

beautiful and lightsome than the fairest angels and most dazzling seraphim, still they knew her to be, like them, a creature, though God's most favoured creature. They worshipped her, yet with none of that worship which belongs to God, but with another kind of infinitely lower worship, which man may yield—nay, ought to yield—to his holier fellow-man.[3] All (345) this they felt, all

[3] Not knowing, or rather wilfully forgetful, of their mother-tongue, some Protestants are apt, very unhandsomely, to upbraid us Catholics with giving to the Saints, and to the B. V. Mary in particular, that reverence and those honours which belong to God alone, because they happen to find in old books the expression of "worship" applied to Christ's servants, and to Christ's mother now in heaven with Him. The word "worship" is a good old Saxon English one, meaning an acknowledgment of the "worth," dignity, honour, &c., possessed by any being whatsoever. In this sense, by the Marriage Service in the "Book of Common Prayer," the man tells his bride, "with my body I thee worship": in this sense, too, are mayors of towns called "worshipful," and magistrates, while sitting on the bench, are addressed "your worships." As the Protestant husband does not mean, by the word "worship," divine adoration to his wife, nor any one divine honour to the civil functionary to whom he may speak in such language; so the Catholic does not intend to express by the same term anything like divine reverence, either to the Saints or to St. Mary. To all the Saints above we Catholics yield that lower kind of worship known as *Dulia* (see before, pp. 155, 156); to the B. Virgin a stronger worship, but still of the self-same lower kind, and called *Hyper-dulia*: but neither to the Saints, nor to the Virgin, would we on any account give the smallest particle of *Latria*, or the higher sort of worship which belongs exclusively to God. On this, as upon every other point of belief, the Catholics of England at this day hold what England while Catholic held: for the Saxon times Abp. Theodore will speak (see before, pp. 155, 156); for the English of a much later period, the writer of a very valuable book of instruction bears full testimony. *Pauper* tells *Dives*:—As clerkes say, there is two maner of service and of worshyppe. One that longeth onely to God and to no creature, and is called *Latria* in Latyn, that is to say, divine service and divine worshippe, for it longeth onely to

this they did for Mary, because God had made her what she is; because His Son's body had been born of her; and because, in so honouring one whom God had thus uplifted, God (346) Himself truly is, as He is meant to be, honoured in the honour paid to so much of His own grace showered down upon His loved and chosen creature Mary.

Having thus put side by side the proofs which we have gathered from the Saxon, the Norman, and the English epochs in our country's annals, about the religious teaching and usages of each period, we behold how, upon the Invocation and Intercession of Saints and Angels, but of the B. V. Mary in particular, there runs throughout the whole of those times an unbroken oneness of belief.

God. Annother is a service and a worshyppe common to God and to creatures resonable and understandynge, that is to saye, to man, woman, and aungell, and is called *Dulia* in Laten. The fyrst service and worshyp that is called *Latria*, divine service, longeth onely to God. And therfore who so doth any divine service that is called *Latria* to any creature, to any image . . . he dothe idolatrie.—*Dives and Pauper, &c., upon the tenne commaundementes*, fol. 21^{v}. 12mo. Berthelet, 1536. Further on, *Pauper* says:—And proprely to speake, *Dulia* is a worshyp that longeth onely to God and to resonable creatures. And principally and excellently to our Lady saynt Mary, and to the manhode of Christ, which worshyp is called *Hyperdulia*, proprely sayde.—*Ibid.*, fo. 24^{v}.

(347) CHAPTER X

THE next step we take on the ground we are now treading, brings us to

THE VENERATION PAID TO SAINTS' RELICS.

Those men who with so much earnestness called upon the saints whose souls are now in heaven, to help them by their prayers unto God, did not forget to show a due honour to whatever relics they had of theirs upon earth. For the smallest fragment of those bones, for a tiny speck of the dust which once had formed a part of that house of clay within which dwelt the soul of a holy one now with God, our Catholic countrymen manifested a deep reverence. Because these "members" had not been yielded "as instruments of iniquity unto sin," but had been used "as instruments of justice unto God,"[4] they were members of a body that once had been "the temple of the Holy Ghost."[5] Though "sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption;" though "sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory. It is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power. It is

[4] *Rom.* vi. 13.

[5] 1 *Cor.* vi. 19.

sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body."[6]

(348) Knowing how those bones, that dust, would, at the day of doom, be again quickened by the happy soul, and carried with triumph into heaven, there to glisten everlastingly in the flood of light streaming on them from the Almighty's throne, our forefathers gave them an honourable resting-place here in this world, and set them high, as they ought to be, above less worthy men's graves, within shrines built of silver and beautified with precious stones in God's especial dwelling-place on earth—His Church, and beneath, or hard by His throne among His creatures here—His altars.

The Anglo-Saxons' Respect for Relics

had been taught them by those from whom they first heard of Christianity, and had learned to believe in it; and besides sacred garments, and hallowed chalices, and copies of the liturgy, their apostle Pope Gregory did not forget to send them saints' relics as one among those things needful to be had by the priesthood before the holy eucharistic sacrifice of the mass might be duly offered up.[7] Whenever, therefore, a new church

[6] 1 *Cor.* xv. 42, 43, 44.

[7] Idem Papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo misit universa quæ ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiæ necessaria, vasa, videlicet, sacra, et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et

had been (349) built, the evening before it was hallowed, they brought thither saints' relics; watched over them the whole night through, singing hymns and keeping a blaze of lighted tapers around them. On the morrow those relics were laid with all due honours in their proper places.[8]

By the Anglo-Saxon ritual, without saints' relics, if they were to be had, no church was duly consecrated; nor might the adorable sacrifice of the mass be offered up, unless upon an altar beneath the stone of which relics had been put at its hallowing by the bishop.[9] So straightly was the meaning of this rubric followed, that even those small thin altars made for being easily carried about, had within them saints' relics.[10]

sacerdotalia vel clericalia indumenta, sanctorum etiam Apostolorum ac Martyrum reliquias, nec non et codices plurimos —Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 29.

[8] Inde vero pridie quam consecratur æcclesia, previdendæ sunt reliquiæ ab episcopo, et ponendæ in tali loco, ut tota nocte cum hymnis et laudibus atque luminaribus sint usque quo exinde levandæ, et ad locum ubi condendæ sunt deducantur.—*Eybert Pontifical*, 26.

[9] *Ibid.*, 44–46. After the relics were put into the altar, this anthem was sung :—Sub altare Domini sedes accepistis, et intercedite pro nobis per quem meruistis (*ibid.*, 46). See also vol. i. pp. 36, 37, of this work.

[10] The Anglo-Saxon portable altar of which we spoke (vol. i. pp. 198, 199) has these two inscriptions on it :—

Hoc sacrum reliquiarum reconditorium Egbertus archiepiscopus fieri iussit, et in eo pignora sancta servari constituit : clavum videlicet Domini, dentem S. Petri, de barba ipsius et de catena, sandalium S. Andreæ apostoli, aliasque sanctorum reliquias : quæ si quis ab hac ecclesia abstulerit, anathema sit.

Hoc altare consecratum est in honorem S. Andreæ apostoli.—Brower, *Annal. Trevir.*, i. 485.

(350) Whenever a wish for knowledge, or to see the world, took the Anglo-Saxons beyond the shores of their own island, and in their wanderings abroad they reached the home of their religious faith, to kneel at and kiss the threshold of the apostles' tomb,[11] and they trod the ground that had been trodden by St. Peter and St. Paul —been reddened with the blood and now held the shrines of them and of the early martyrs, and they stood in Rome—among those things which they so longingly sought after there, and so eagerly wished to bring back with them, were the relics of the saints.[12] These remains of holy men, they thought, would draw down God's blessing upon their country.[13] Very (351) soon, however, Saxon England brought forth its own harvests from the seed of God's word; His behests were done; prayers, like sweet-smelling incense, arose day and night to heaven from every hill and dale; and crowds of men and women died as they had lived, in holiness. Instead of hurrying elsewhere

[11] Romam venire ad videnda atque adoranda Beatorum Apostolorum ac martyrum Christi limina cogitavit (Ecgberct).—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 9.

[12] Abbas Benedictus Romam ire disposuit, ut librorum copiam sanctorum, reliquiarum beatorum martyrum memoriam dulcem, historiarum canonicarum picturam merito venerandam . . . referret. —*Hist. Abb. Gyrv., auct. anon.*, in Beda, *Opp. Hist. Minora*, ed. Stevenson, p. 321. These lives were written before St. Beda's work on the same subject.

[13] Reliquiarum beatorum apostolorum martirumque Christi habundantem gratiam multis Anglorum ecclesiis profuturam aduexit.—Beda, *Hist. Abbat.*, § 6 [Plummer, i. 369].

to beg the bodies of the saints, her own children yielded them to her plentifully. The whole land, in truth, sparkled with the shrines of its home-grown saints, whose burial-places were looked upon as so many spots of light which the poet loved to sing of, and the clerical writers of those times to reckon up.[14] This bright catalogue of God's hallows went on lengthening, and the Norman stranger, as he afterwards wandered over this country, could not go by a village of any size without hearing some Anglo-Saxon saint's name, which to him had been heretofore thoroughly unknown.[15]

(352) As often as Almighty God vouchsafed to tell the world of the holiness, while they were alive, of His faithful servants, by the miracles He was pleased to work at their graves, the Anglo-Saxons took up their bones and carried them, with much ritual splendour, from the common burial-ground into the church: there they laid them within

[14] Lists in Anglo-Saxon, of those burial-places of the more celebrated among our native saints, are given, from old MSS., by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*, ii. *Dissert. Epist.*, p. 115. Other partial enumerations of saints' bodies are not a few: of those which were at Durham, we have a note drawn up in verse—Anglico sermone compositum carmen—as Simeon of Durham tells us (p. 162, ed. Rudd), which may be seen in the *Scriptores Decem*, ed. Twysden, i. 76, but better still after the glossary at the end of his vol. ii.

[15] Nonne tota insula tantis reliquiis indigenarum fulgurat, ut vix aliquem vicum insignem prætereas ubi novi sancti nomen non audias? quam multorum etiam periit memoria, pro scriptorum inopia!—William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg. Angl.*, iii. 245 [*R.S.* xc. ii. 304].

Shrines.

These tombs of the saints always stood high above the pavement of the holy pile which held them:[16] (353) often were they fashioned in the shape of wide lofty chests, made of stone;[17] but, if of wood, sheathed with plates of silver, nay, of gold set with gems:[18] sometimes they arose as

[16] Divina dispensatio . . . immisit in animo fratrum, ut tollerent ossa illius (S. Cuthberti) atque in levi arca recondita, in eodem quidem loco, sed supra pavimentum dignæ venerationis gratia locarent.—S. Beda, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 42 [*P.L.*, xciv. 783, 784]. Involutum novo amictu corpus levique in theca reconditum, super pavimentum sanctuarii composuerunt [*ibid.*, 785]. The solemn translation of St. Elphege's body from London to Canterbury is taken especial notice of in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 1023. The uncanonical harshness, and that dislike which Abp. Lanfranc showed to the Anglo-Saxon bishops and abbots, and to everything Anglo-Saxon, except when it told on his side, have thrown a deep tarnish on his character. Had it not been for St. Anselm's opposition, Lanfranc would have taken this holy martyr St. Elphege's name out of the catalogue of Saints, as we find in Eadmer's life of St. Anselm, *AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 876.

[17] Aperientes sepulchrum, invenerunt corpus totum integrum quasi adhuc viveret . . . sed et sarcophagum non humo terræ condidit (Pega), immo etiam in memoriale quoddam posuit quod nunc ab Ethelbaldo rege miris ornamentorum structuris in honorem divinæ potentiæ ædificatum conspicimus: ubi triumphale corpus tanti viri (Guthlaci) usque in hodierni temporis cursum feliciter pausat, per cujus intercessionem miserationis divinæ indulgentiam quisquis integra fide pulsaverit impetrabit.—Felix (A.D. 714), *Vita S. Guthlaci*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.*, iii. 273.

[18] Queen Ælfgyfer (A.D. 1012) bequeathed two hundred mancusses of gold to a minster for the shrine there:—Two hund mandcussa goldæs to ðam mynstær, and hire scrin mid hiræ haligdomæ (*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Sax.*, iii. 360). Elsinus (abbas Eliensis) reliquias S. virginis Wendredæ a vico de Merche intulit in Ely et in scrinio ex auro et lapidibus decenter aptato imposuit.—Thomas of Ely, *Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 528. Amid the booty carried

tiny minster-like buildings, overshadowing the silver or the stone case which had the saints' relics, and allowing, through a hole or window in the side, those who (354) might like, to stretch forth their hands and gather the dust which lay upon the coffin lid.[19]

In some instances, just over the shrine itself, was cast a large rich pall of silk, beautifully embroidered with gold and starred with jewels, the gift—perhaps, too, the finger-work—of some queen or high-born lady.[20]

off from Peterborough minster by the Danish king Sweyn, were two gilt shrines, and nine others of silver.—See *Saxon Chron.*, A.D. 1070 [*R.S.*, xxiii. ii., 177].

[19] Obiit autem Ceadda; . . . constructa ibidem ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, in eandem sunt ejus ossa translata. In quo utroque loco, ad indicium virtutis illius solent crebra sanitatum miracula operari. . . . Est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi, qui causa devotionis illo adveniunt, manum suam immittere, ac partem pulveris inde adsumere, &c.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 3.

[20] Insignem quoque purpuram, aurifriso undique cinctam fecit (Ælgiva, alio nomine Emma, regis Canuti conjux); et per partes auro et gemmis pretiosis mirifico opere velut tabulatis adornavit; ita ut vix aliud alibi talis operis et pretii inveniatur: opus quippe illius materiam præcellere videtur. Atque ceteris Sanctis nostris pannum sericum unicuique, licet minoris pretii, auro et gemmis intextum obtulit, quæ penes nos hactenus reperiuntur.—Thomas of Ely, *Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 529. The use of this splendid pall is described by the same writer, who, in speaking of it again, says: Pallam eximiæ paraturæ auri et gemmarum, quam Emma regina in velamentum sepulchri Sanctæ Virginis (Etheldredæ) obtulerat, accepit (*ibid.*, p. 578). Like the Anglo-Saxons, the Franks overspread the tombs of Saints with rich palls: an unknown writer of the ninth century tells us that a thief once tried to steal from a tomb in the church of St. Denis, near Paris;—holosericam pallam, auro, gemmis atque margaritis decoratam, quæ sanctum tegebat sepulchrun.—*Vita S. Dionysii Ep. Paris, ab anonymo* (*ibid.*, p. 311).

(355) At the same time that a heavy stress was laid upon the duty of showing all becoming veneration to the relics of the saints, the way to do so was pointed out by those who had been set as bishops over the Anglo-Saxon people. One among other methods was the use of lights; and the episcopal enactments of those times said how there must be, if the church in which it stood could afford the cost, a lamp or wax taper kept burning day and night before its shrine.[21] King Alfred's practice in his own private oratory, is an apt exemplification of the Anglo-Saxon custom. By the command of that greatest prince which England ever had, six candles burned, without the slightest intermission, all through the four-and-twenty hours of the day and night, before the many holy relics which (356) he invariably took along with him whenever he went upon a journey.[22] Not regular large shrines, each with the whole body of a saint in it, but perhaps a very small one, besides many little cases called

[21] Reliquiæ tamen Sanctorum venerandæ sunt, et, si potest fieri, in ecclesia ubi reliquiæ Sanctorum sunt, candela ardeat per singulas noctes (Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.*, xlviii., in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 57). In other manuscripts we have this reading:—Gradus non debemus facere ante altare, ubi reliquiæ Sanctorum venerandæ sunt (*ibid.*). Ut unusquisque sacerdos ecclesiam suam cum omni diligentia ædificet; et reliquias Sanctorum cum summo studio vigiliarum noctis, et divinis officiis conservet.—*Ecgbert Excerp.* I. (*ibid.*, ii. 97).

[22] Sex illæ candelæ per viginti quatuor horas die nocteque sine defectu coram sanctis multorum electorum Dei reliquiis quæ semper eum ubique comitabantur, ardentes lucescebant.—Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, ed. Wise, p. 68.

holding mere fragments only of those treasures, was what Alfred carried about with him in his moving court and camp. Such reliquaries were of various shapes and sizes, and made out of one or other of the precious metals. Of silver, was that containing St. Oswald's undecayed hand and arm, which Beda, himself a saint, and the men of his times, looked upon and revered with such deep respect.[23] The reliquary which Queen Ermenburga stole from St. Wilfrid, that holy bishop of York used to wear about his neck.[24] Sometimes, too, (357) the hollow of our Saviour's image, wrought in high relief upon the cross, was contrived for a reliquary and filled full of relics.[25]

[23] Nam cum interfecto illo (Osualdo rege) in pugna, manus cum brachio a cetero essent corpore resectæ, contigit ut hactenus incorruptæ perdurent. Denique in urbe regia . . . loculo inclusæ argenteo in ecclesia sancti Petri servantur, ac digno a cunctis honore venerantur.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 6.

[24] Regina vero ejus olim suprafata, chrismarium hominis Dei sanctis reliquiis repletum . . . de se abstractum in thalamo suo manens, aut curru pergens, juxta se pependit.—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi Ebor.*, xxxiv. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 50]. St. Wilfrid wore this reliquary round his neck; for we learn that,—Sanctas reliquias quas regina de collo spoliati (*nempe* Wilfridi) abstraxit.—*Ibid.*, xxxix. [*R.S.*, 55].

[25] Fecit (Leo monachus Eliensis, *c.* A.D. 978) crucem argenteam, quæ crux Leonis præpositi nominatur, in qua forma corporis Christi, ingenio artificis cavata, Sanctorum reliquias Vedasti et Amandi continebat quam Nigellus episcopus de ecclesia (Eliensi) asportavit.—Thomas of Ely, *Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 528.

Lists of relics belonging to certain churches in this country are often to be met with in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The Bodleian

One of the shapes according to which the Anglo-Saxons fashioned their reliquaries, was that of a round plate of gold or silver, upon both sides of which was enchased many a holy relic, with most likely a precious stone set as a seal over each. (358) Having one, if not two or three chains fastened on its rim, this circular flat reliquary could be easily hung, during the great holydays, in various ways about the altar. The Norman William found many such kept with much care amid the royal treasures, which, with the crown of England, fell to him.[26] Admired as in their own days our Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths' handcraft was all through Europe,

codex, marked *Auct. D. Sup.*, art. 120, iii., at fol. 8, tells us of all those which King Æthelstan bestowed upon St. Peter's minster at Exeter; and among them we find many that were of Anglo-Saxon saints: several were those which that prince had brought to him from France. A note of the relics in St. Peter's, Bath, is written on a parchment leaf torn out of some codex, but now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and mentioned in Nasmith's catalogue of that fine library, No. cxi., p. 119.

[26] These Anglo-Saxon reliquaries were bequeathed by William to his monastery of Battle, Sussex, as we read in the chronicle of that abbey: Trecenta numero philacteria decenter auro argentoque fabricata, quorum plura catenis aureis vel argenteis appendebantur, innumerabilium sanctorum reliquias continentia, cum feretro in modum altaris formato quo multæ erant reliquiæ super quod in expeditione missa celebrari consueverat, quæ inter alia multiformia ex prædecessorum suorum regum cum regno adquisitione obtinuerat, et quæ in regio hactenus reposita thesaurario conservabantur, eidem loco (ecclesiæ suæ de Bello), ex suo munere conferri præcepit.—*Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello*, p. 37. London: 1846. Could the shrine spoken of here, containing many relics, and made to serve as an altar upon which Mass used to be offered up during expeditions, be the one which the brave and holy Alfred carried about with him, and left in the royal treasury?

those beautiful shrines and reliquaries which they wrought particularly called forth the praises of foreigners; and while Italy gazed upon such productions with applauding wonderment, gladly did she draw Saxon-English workmen to sheathe her altars with frontals of silver, and throw fresh beauty round her churches.[27]

(359) That not a few of our Anglo-Saxon shrines must have been comparatively small, light, and moveable, we may gather from the liturgical practices of those times. By more than one authority we know there were certain appointed occasions when the relics of the saints had to be taken out of church and carried along with the solemn procession which the clergy and the people made all about the streets of a town, and the fields of a country parish, on each of the three gang-days.[28]

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[27] See vol. i. p. 233, note, for some remarks on the works of Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths in Italy. The richness and the beauty of our Anglo-Saxon shrines may be inferred from the one of gold belonging to Edmund the martyr, and described further on, at note 39.

[28] Cuthberht, writing how his teacher the holy Beda died, tells us that:—Cum venisset autem tertia feria ante Ascensionem Domini, cœpit vehementius ægrotari in anhelitu. . . . Et mane illucescente, id est, quarta feria . . . a tertia autem hora ambulavimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei poscebat (*Epist. Cuthberhti de Bedæ morte*) [*P.L.*, xcv. 16]. Those three days—Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the Ascension or Holy Thursday—were then, and continued till a late period, as we said before (p. 181), to be called "gang-days." As late as the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign (A.D. 1571), one of the heads of the Protestant Establishment found it necessary to say: Perambulations to be used by the people, for viewing the bounds of their parishes, in the days of the Rogation, commonly called

(360) The presence in their churches of the relics of the saints helped to smooth away many a rough sorrow from the Anglo-Saxons' brows, and to give them heart during the season of their trials to bear up against all ills. Throwing themselves down at full length upon the ground before some shrine, the afflicted and the wretched besought that holy man, whose dust was treasured there, to cry along with them unto their common Father that He would take pity and ease them of their woes, or lighten the weight of them. So prayed the wise, the learned, and the bold among the Anglo-Saxons; and often did the twilight at its awaking see Alfred as he thus lay busied with his prayers in the house of God.[29]

When they sought to be healed of their sadness

Cross week, or Gang-days . . . without wearing any surplice, carrying of banners or handbells, or staying at crosses, or such-like popish ceremonies (*Grindall's Instructions*, in Wilkins, *Concil.*, iv. 270). The Anglo-Saxon homilist warns all his hearers how "we also in these days (the gang-days) should offer up our prayers and follow our relics out and in, and with fervour praise Almighty God."—*Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Thorpe, i. 247.

[29] Sæpissime galli cantu et matutinis horis clam consurgens, ecclesias et reliquias sanctorum orandi causa visitabat; ibique diu prostratus orabat.—Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, ed. Wise, p. 41. Telling how King Edward was slain at even-tide at Corfe-gate, the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 979) says :—

He was in life
an earthly king,
he is now after death
a heavenly saint
. . . . .
They who would not erewhile
to his living
body bow down,
they now humbly
on knees bend
to his dead bones.
—[*R.S.*, xxiii. ii. 100].

and sickness, and mishaps of the flesh, by the (361) Almighty, their wont was to hasten to some shrine and beg of its saint to try and win back for them by prayer the eyesight which they had lost, or the health and strength which they once enjoyed.[30] Often did Christ answer these entreaties of His holy servants now along with Him, by yielding, through their intercession, to the blind, the weak, and the ailing, what they had asked for. Hardly, at times, had the reliquary been brought and laid upon the sick man's pillow,[31] or he had tasted of the water into which the relic itself was on some occasions dipped, than he found himself healed; and, arising out of bed, ran to the church to thank God, and praise Him for having glorified Himself through His saints:[32] the merit and the honour of (362) all miracles were given, not to Christ's servants, but exclusively to Christ Himself.[33]

[30] Repente venit in mentem quia si ad monasterium delata virginum sanctimonialium ad reliquias sanctorum peteret, perditam posset recipere lucem.—Beda, *Hist. Ecc.*, iv. 10.

[31] Æger enim quidam Patris dum cingitur almi
Relliquiis, penitus peste est sanatus ab illa.

—*Frag. Hist. Ecc. Eboracensis*, Anon. (*circa* A.D. 785), in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.*, iv. 508 [*P.L.*, ci. 839].

[32] Puer vero, degustata aqua benedicta, a garrula voce illa desinit, crastinoque die cum patre suo gratias agens Domino, ad reliquias Sanctorum, pro quorum amore sanatum se a Deo credidit in conspectu familiæ nostræ oravit, et glorificans Dominum in sanctis suis ad domum unde venerat sanatus reversus est.—*Vita S. Cuthberti, inter Opera Minora V. Bedæ*, ed. Stevenson, p. 282. The unknown writer of this life lived before the time of S. Beda.

[33] "Now also in our time, everywhere where holy men rest, at

When they went to confession, the Anglo-Saxons, going nigh the altar and near the shrine, knelt at the priest's feet. But ere beginning their shrift, they declared it was before God and the saints, and the saints' relics there, that they unbosomed their sins.[34] In presence of the relics too, and calling (363) upon them, did they swear their oaths of steadfastness to their lords,[35] and truth to one another; and the man who broke the word that he had thus plighted on those relics, was doomed to undergo years of penance.[36]

their dead bones, God works many miracles, because he will with those miracles confirm people's faith."—Thorpe, *Homilies of Ælfric*, i. 293. Speaking of St. Fursey, the same homilist says:—"And his body was buried with great veneration, and after about four years, sound, without corruptible decay, was buried in another place; where his merits are shown by miracles, to the praise of the Almighty," &c.—*Ibid.*, ii. 349.

[34] Confiteor coram Deo omnipotenti . . . et coram hoc altari sancto, et sanctis reliquiis, quæ in hoc loco sancto sunt, &c. Consecrata Dei ministeria, et sanctas reliquias, et sanctos codices, et sancta vasa indignus et pollutus tetigi.—Alcuin, *Confessio Peccatorum in Lib. de Psal. usu*, ii. 9 [*P.L.*, ci. 498, 499]. I to-day confess all my crimes before the Lord Saviour Christ . . . and before this holy altar, and these relics, and before my confessor and the Lord's mass-priest.—*Canons under Edgar*, Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 265, n. 10.

[35] *Thus shall a man swear fealty Oaths.*

By the Lord, before whom this relic is holy, I will be to N. faithful and true, &c. (*Ibid.*, i. 179. See vol. ii., p. 320, note 38, of this work). The word "holidome" for "haligdom" continued to be used, during many centuries after the Saxon ages, in the oaths that were taken on public occasions. See before, vol. ii., p. 325.

[36] Qui perjuraverit in ecclesia, vel in Evangelio vel in reliquiis sanctis, iii annos jejunet.—*Confessionale Ecgberti*, 34, in Thorpe, ii. 159.

Non oportet mulieres ingredi ad altare . . . neque crucem, vel reliquias Sanctorum bajulent.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.*, c. xlvi., in Thorpe, ii. 56.

While being borne along to the grave, among those costly gifts which the Anglo-Saxon king meant to be given as his soul-shot to that church wherein he had wished to be buried, and were carried before his dead body, might at times be seen a long array of beautiful reliquaries, filled with relics, to seek for which had been, all through life, his thought, and the finding them his happiness.[37]

(364) At the same time the Anglo-Saxons believed that to Michael among all the angelic hosts had been given the charge of fetching each man's soul at death to God's tribunal for immediate judgment,[38] him likewise did they deem to have been set to watch and keep from harm all those bodies which the souls of the just now in heaven had dwelt in whilst on earth: this archangel had the guardianship over all the relics here of the saints.[39]

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[37] Ethelstanus Gloecestræ diem clausit. Exuviæ triumphales Malmesbiriam delatæ, et sub altari tumulatæ. Portata ante corpus multa in argento et auro donaria, simul et sanctorum reliquiæ de transmarina Britannia emptæ.—William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Reg. Angl.*, ii. 140 [*R.S.*, cclvii. i. 157].

[38] See pp. 135, 136, of this volume.

[39] In his description of the finding of St. Edmund the Martyr's body in his shrine (A.D. 1198), Ralph Coggeshall says:—Circa pectus erat quoddam foramen in illo locello lamina opertum aurea, in qua cujusdam angeli figura decenter erat exsculpta, atque hic versus exaratus:

"Martyris ecce soma Michaelis servat agalma."

In foramine reperta est quædam schedula quandam continens Anglicam orationem, quam sanctus dudum (ut credimus) frequentare consueverat, &c.—Ralph Coggeshall, *Chron. Anglic.*, in Martene, *Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll.*, v. 850 [*R.S.*, lxvi. 86].

Of those several ways by which our Anglo-Saxons strove to show their reverence towards God's departed saints, one was to bestow upon the churches wherein the relics of some among the more celebrated of them lay, the right of sanctuary or refuge (365) for criminals.[40] Such a privilege was given by allowing what was called

The Frithstool

to be set up in some part of the hallowed building.[41] This "stool of peace," for such is the

[40] For the Jews, "Moses set aside three cities beyond the Jordan, that any one might flee to them who should kill his neighbour unwillingly, and that he might escape to some one of these cities" (*Deut.* iv. 41, 42). By the Anglo-Saxons, such an example was followed very soon after they became Christians; and their lawgivers, both ecclesiastical and civil, upheld the practice. Perhaps the earliest notice we have of the custom is to be found in the dying wish of St. Cuthberht to be buried on the lonely island of Farne, lest, if his body were carried to Lindisfarne, his grave might become a place of refuge for runaways: Et meæ, inquit, voluntatis erat hic requiescere corpore, ubi quantulumcunque pro Domino certamen certavi. . . . Sed et vobis quoque commodius esse arbitror, ut hic requiescam, propter incursionem profugorum vel noxiorum quorumlibet; qui cum ad corpus meum forte confugerint, quia qualiscunque sum, fama tamen exiit de me quia famulus Christi sim, necesse habetis sæpius pro talibus apud potentes seculi intercedere, atque ideo de præsentia corporis mei multum tolerare laborem.—Beda, *Vita S. Cuthbercti*, ed. Stevenson, p. 121 [*P.L.*, xciv. 779].

[41] King Æthelred, in his "dooms" or judgments, not only speaks of the Frithstool, but in such words as to make us think it a kind of sanctuary which had been already bestowed upon many places in this country: And gif forþorht man friδ-stol gesece, &c.—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 332. Between the privilege of sanctuary, in the common meaning of the word, and the frith-stool privilege, there was a wide distinction. To every church

meaning (366) of the word, was a low-backed arm-chair, made of stone.[42] Its standing-place was either near the high altar, or by the side of the patron saint's shrine. From this spot, as from a centre, the frithstool spread its privilege of sanctuary over land and water all about the minster which held it, to the distance of at least a mile. Tall crosses, made sometimes of wood, but oftener of stone, told the boundaries of this asylum.[43] As he hurried onwards (367) other crosses showed the fugitive his road, and how much further he had to go before he could reach

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and churchyard belonged the rights of sanctuary, but the fugitive could enjoy them only for a short prescribed time, and if guilty of particular crimes, might be followed to, and carried off from, the very altar itself: their protection, too, did not stretch one foot beyond the burial-ground around the church or minster. Not so the frithstool rights: they overshadowed, for a mile before he came to touch the chair itself, the fugitive who approached from any side; allowed of their being sought and used by any criminal; and guarded him, however long he chose to stay within the bounds of their protection.

[42] That York, Croyland, Hexham, and Beverley, enjoyed this privilege, we know from authentic documents; and stone chairs may yet be seen in the two last-mentioned churches. Upon the Beverley frithstool once might be read this inscription:—Hæc sedes lapidea Freedstoll dicitur. i. pacis cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens, omnimodam habet securitatem.—Spelman, *Gloss.*, in voce. The inscription is now rubbed out.

[43] Telling up the crosses which marked the fugitives' bounds in Croyland marsh, Ingulph says: Ad orientem . . . crux lignea stat vetusta et distat ab ipsa aqua per decem pedes . . . ad Austrum . . . posita est crux lapidea . . . in Weland ubi stans fracta crux lapidea distat ab ipsa aqua de Asendick. . . . Si extra istas quinque aquas et metas prænominatas fugitivus inventus fuerit tanquam Semei extra Jerusalem publicis legibus subjiciendus pœnam quam meruit patietur.—Ingulph, *Hist. Croyland* [ed. Birch., 1883, p. 15].

the sought-for chair. When won, however, and having seated himself within this frithstool, he became entitled to all the widest privileges belonging by charter to that sanctuary.[44] If those

[44] Such were the rights which the frithstool always brought along with it: of Beverley's, we learn: Deinde cum magno tripudio in Angliam remeans (Æthelstanus rex), non immemor beneficii cœlitus sibi collati e vestigio Beverlacum adiit, et in præsentia reliquiarum humiliter se prostravit, gratias agens Deo sanctoque Joanni patrono suo, cujus meritis tanta beneficia ei præstita fuerunt. Et offerens arma sua aliaque donaria, instituit pacem S. Joannis ab omnibus tenendam quam infringere nulla ratione nullo tempore cuiquam dignitati vel personæ liceat; fecitque milliarium assignari ad hanc pacem tenendam, metamque constituit ad spinam prægrandem quæ ultra Melescrost sita, in via quæ tendit Eboracum: quo loco nunc crux lapidea posita cernitur, ut qui hanc pacem in aliquo vel erga aliquem violare præsumpserit, octo libras argenti ecclesiæ dicti confessoris pro emendatione persolveret: qui vero infra tres cruces lapideas mirifice sculptas et ad introitum Beverlaci tunc ab eodem rege erectas, hanc pacem violaverit, viginti quatuor libras exsolveret: et qui infra cœmeterium ecclesiæ ipsius infregerit pacem, septuaginta duas libras pro satisfactione dare compelleretur: qui autem infra corpus ecclesiæ posterioris temerario ausu pacem violare præsumpserit, triplicatas libras argenti prædictas pro emendatione persolvere judicaretur: et qui infra arcus supra introitum cancelli positos maligno ausu sanctissimi confessoris pacem violaverit, absque emendatione terrenæ possessionis vel pecuniæ esset judicatus (ut qui tale nefas tamque profanum in præsentia reliquiarum tam venerandi confessoris ausus sit committere) soliusque Dei miserationi atque judicio committendus, sit judicandus sicut enormis languor immensa curatione indiget (*Mirac. S. Joannis Beverlacensis*, in *AA. SS. Maji*, ii. 181). These same privileges were enjoyed by Hexham:—Ab illo igitur tempore (Northanhymbrorum regis Ecfridi) et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritate et archiepiscoporum et episcoporum donatione et attestatione, et regum et consulum, ac principum liberalitate atque confirmatione inter cætera prærogativarum suarum insignia quibuslibet reis ad ejus defensionem confugientibus firmam pacem conferre et conservare cognoscitur. Sunt etenim ab orientali et australi, ab occidentali et aquilonari parte ipsius ecclesiæ, quædam loca, et quidam termini evidentes antiquitus instituti, et ab incolis bene cogniti, infra quos pacem

who (368) were running after him overtook and dragged away the fleeing man after he had trodden but one footstep (369) on the ground within the limits of the first cross, they were punished by a certain fine; if they brought him from the next inner cross, the fine was quadrupled; and the nearer to the saints' relics happened the sacrilegious seizure, the higher became the amount of fine. But if they so far followed, and had the hardihood to snatch him out of (370) the "chair of peace" itself, no money might redeem the heinousness of such a deed.[45]

As strong as the Anglo-Saxon, were

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adeuntes, et de pace redeuntes, vel eos, vel quicquam de substantia eorum nulli licet infestare sive temerario ausu contingere.

Si quis igitur quemlibet cujuscunque facinoris aut flagitii reum et convictum infra quatuor cruces que sunt extra ipsam villam de Hestaldasham capit et retinet, universali judicio ij hundredh emendabit. Si vero infra villam iiij hundredh. Si vero infra muros atrii ecclesiæ, vj hundredh. Si autem infra ecclesiam, xij hundredh. Si vero infra valvas chori, xviij hundredh, pœnitentia quoque de singulis sicut de sacrilegiis injuncta. In hundredh viij libræ continentur. Quod si aliquis vesano spiritu agitatus diabolico ausu quemquam capere præsumpserit in cathedra lapidea juxta altare quam Angli vocant *Fridstol*, id est cathedram quietudinis vel pacis, vel etiam ad feretrum sanctarum reliquiarum quod est post altare hujus tam flagitiosi sacrilegii emendatio sub nullo judicio erit, sub nullo pecuniæ numero claudetur, sed apud Anglos *botolos*, id est, sine emendatione vocatur (Richard of Hexham, *De Statu, &c., Ecc. Hagustaldensis*, ed. Twysden, i. 308). All through the Anglo-Saxon period the same rights were conferred whenever the Frithstool was set up; thus at York: Sub Edwardo rege et Aldredo archiepiscopo, fuit ecclesiæ S. Petri (Eboracensis) consuetudo egregiæ libertatis. Si quis enim, &c., as above; but we have here *boteles*, instead of *botolos*.—*Carta Regis Henrici I., de Libertatibus Eccl. S. Petri Ebor.*, in *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1180.

[45] See last note.

The English Feelings of Respect for Saints' Relics.

The same liturgical practices were followed as of old; and whenever a new church had to be hallowed, those earthly remains of God's true and now happy children, were sought after to put underneath its altars. Not far from the walls of the building to be blessed, a wide tent was pitched, and thither were brought, the evening before, those relics over which, amid the gleam from a hundred tapers, a solemn watch or wake [46]

[46] When a church had been thus solemnly dedicated, the anniversary of the ceremonial was ever afterwards kept (as it yet ought to be), by the parish as a festival. In doing so, not only the Anglo-Saxons, but our forefathers of later times, every year went through this very service of praying all night by the relics in the altar, and such a custom gave its name to the whole celebration of the annual feast attached unto which the designation of "wake" remained, though the practice of night-watching had been dropped. Of these church wakes, the xxviii[th] of the canons enacted under Edgar speaks (*Ancient Laws, &c.*, ii. 251). That they were solemnised fully a hundred years after the coming of the Normans, we gather from Reginald, the Durham monk, who, in telling of a miracle wrought within a roofless little chapel, says: —Quodam igitur tempore, propter diem Beati Cuthberti, illo convenientibus multis in unum, multi infra capellæ parietes accensis luminaribus secum pro devotione allatis, orationibus vacabant; junior vero ætas cum aliis pluribus forinsecus, sinuamini membrorum vel choreis ducendis, sicut mos est juventuti, operam dabant. . . . Intra capellam denique positi, totam illam noctem sancto confessori Cuthberto sollempnem in vigiliis et orationibus ducebant.—*De Admir. B. Cuthberti Virtut.*, pp. 284, 285.

Charles I., while reproving those who would forbid "the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called wakes," says: —"Our expresse will and pleasure is that these feasts with others shall bee observed, and that our justices of the peace . . . shall

was kept the (371) whole night through by the clergy, who spent that time in singing psalms and canticles. On the morrow, the bishop, pontifically arrayed, and waited on by a crowd of ministers, each clad in the vestment of his office, with a throng of youthful clerks bearing candlesticks, and lights, and tall crosses, and flags figured with the saints, and thuribles filled with fire, and headed by coped and surpliced choristers, walked in procession to this tent. After a short prayer said at its door, the shrine was (372) hoisted upon the shoulders of those to whom had been allotted that high distinction, wished for by so many, of carrying it. Thence, amid a blaze of torches and fragrant clouds of incense, with the chant of anthems and canticles to God's praise, swelled on the way by the commingling voices of the people, those relics were borne along into the church, and laid beneath its high altar-stone, with all the honours of the ritual.[47]

looke to it . . . and that all neighbourhood and freedome, with manlike and lawfull exercises be used" (*Sports to be used*, pp. 15, 16). A faint shadow of one of our old Catholic religious usages still lives in those yearly village festivities called throughout the midland and northern counties "the wakes," and "the feast," in other parts of the kingdom.

[47] Quando reliquie ponende sunt in altari accedat episcopus cum clero ad locum in quo reliquie nocte precedente deportate fuerint, et dicat in introitu oracionem, *Aufer a nobis, &c.* Post ingressum ante tentorium clerus cantet antiphonam, *O quam gloriosum est regnum, in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti; amicti stolis albis, sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit.* Dicta antiphona sequatur oratio, *Fac nos Domine sanctorum tuorum specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocinia incessanter habere. Per Dominum.* Tunc

Though our Plantagenet kings may not have (373) outstripped, they at least came up to, our Alfreds and others of the Anglo-Saxon stock, in the love which they showed before all the world towards the earthly remains of God's saints. Like Æthelstan, Richard of the lion-heart sought for relics, and gladly gave his gold to buy them;[48] and when a church had been rebuilt, or its old shrine taken down and beautified, an English king more than once challenged for himself the honour of bearing the relics to their new abode; and England's proudest earls and boldest knights asked for and obtained the privilege of helping their prince to carry such a venerated burden. London saw Henry III. bear upon his shoulders the relics of Edward the Confessor along the aisles of Westminster Abbey, amid an admiring

leventur reliquie cum honore et laudibus, cum cruce et thuribulis et luminaribus et exeant omnes, canendo donec perveniant ad ostium ecclesie illam antiphonam, *Cum jucunditate, &c.* (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Barnes, p. 32). This Pontifical was Bishop Lacy's, who bequeathed it to his cathedral of Exeter, where it still is.

When relics could not be had, the altar-stone was merely anointed: Si reliquie non habentur, omittendum est officium illorum . . . et dum psalmus (*Exurgat Deus*) dicitur, frons altaris oleo sancto crismate mixto in tribus saltem locis perungatur (*ibid.*, p. 34). Instead of relics, a particle of the holy Eucharist was sometimes put beneath the altar-stone; see vol. i. pp. 35, 36, of this work.

In the service for reconciling a church that has been desecrated, the Bangor Pontifical gives this rubric:—Primo ante, omnia, nocte præcedente reconciliationem ecclesiæ vel altaris, asportentur reliquiæ cum cæteris sacris ab ecclesia profanata, et serventur in tentorio tota nocte cum vigiliis et excubiis dignis.—Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecc. Angl.*, iii. 308 [i. 254].

[48] See pp. 178, 301, of this volume.

throng made up of the highest in the land;[49] and York beheld how our first Edward (374) did the same, all about the crowded choir of her minster, with those of her archbishop St. William.[50]

[49] Dominus rex Anglorum Henricus (III.) piæ devotionis instinctu, non patiens ulterius venerabiles reliquias beatissimi regis Edwardi confessoris, quem præ cæteris sanctis speciali quadam veneratione dilexit, locello quodam humili recubare . . . convocatis universis Angliæ prælatis et magnatibus necnon cunctarum regni sui civitatum pariter et burgorum potentioribus, ut translationis solemnia celebrius illustrarent; confluente pariter plebeiæ multitudinis turba non modica, venerandas illas reliquias de veteri scrinio transferens in sublime, in conspectu tantæ multitudinis suis et serenissimi fratris sui Romanorum regis humeris supportandas apposuit, nobilibus filiis suis domino Edwardo, domino Edmundo, domino comite Waremiæ, domino Philippo Basset, et pluribus aliis regni proceribus, quotquot manus apponere poterant ad onus tam nobile supportandum in adjutorium advocatis, et in auri scrinio preciosissimis lapidibus adornato, in loco supereminente cum ea qua decuit reverentia collocavit. —Wikes, *Chron.*, ed. Gale, ii. 88.

[50] Convenientibus ad ecclesiam prælatis qui ad solennitatem venerant, præsentibus etiam rege (Edwardo I.) et regina, et maxima comitiva comitum et baronum . . . rex ipse una cum episcopis qui aderant, sanctæ reliquiæ capsam, in qua erant sanctæ reliquiæ, cum summa devotione et reverentia, in humeris suis circa partem unam chori, ad locum ubi nunc corpus Sancti (Willielmi archiep. Eboracensis) requiescit, non sine magna pressura solenniter bajulabant: non enim valebant in corpus ecclesiæ cum sanctis reliquiis præ multitudine hominum descendere, &c.—*Acta S. Willielmi archiep. Eboracensis*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 144. No sooner did Sir Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, breathe his last, than every one looked upon him as in heaven. His corpse was therefore borne to the grave with the same respect which the Church shows to the relics of a saint: King John and his barons carried that holy man's dead body on their shoulders unto the western door of the minster; there it was met by three archbishops and thirteen bishops, who took it likewise on their shoulders into the choir, for the burial service: Corpus Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi delatum est Lincolniam, ibidem intumulandum. Cui occurrentes Johannes rex Angliæ, et (supradicti) tres archiepiscopi, et (præfati) tredecim episcopi, et comites et barones,

(375) But not only amid the stir and glitter of a public ceremonial, with the eyes of thousand gazers upon them, was it that our kings showed how deeply seated was their religious reverence: before meeting, or after having gone through, trials and dangers, did they seek the shrines of the saints. No sooner had Richard I. set foot on English ground, after having been freed from his German dungeon, than he sped him to Canterbury, where, kneeling down at the shrine of St. Thomas, he made his thanksgiving to God.[51] Before he sailed for France, (376) the Black Prince, along with the king his father, went about the country to its great sanctuaries, and besought, as the best help he could take with him from England, the prayers of those saints whose relics stood enshrined there:[52] the young

receperunt corpus illud; et rex ipse, una cum comitibus et baronibus, portavit in collo suo corpus illud. Deinde comites et barones portaverunt illud in humeris suis usque in atrium matricis ecclesiæ, gaudentes obsequium se præstare Deo, et beato præsuli illi. Ad ostium vero ecclesiæ receperunt corpus illud præfati archiepiscopi et episcopi, et sic in humeris prælatorum delatum est usque in chorum et ibi pernoctatum est. Cumque circa eum agerentur exsequiæ defunctorum, quædam mulier, quæ per septem annos ex uno oculo cæca fuerat, recepit visum.—Roger de Hoveden, *Annal.*, ed. Savile, 461 b. [*R.S.*, li. iv. 142, 143].

[51] Rex Ricardus . . . in die Dominica post festum Sancti Gregorii in Angliam cum magno gaudio ad portum Sandwicensem applicuit . . . illico Cantuariam profectus beatum Thomam devotus expetiit . . . Rege vero vix per unum diem apud Westmonasterium commorante, apud S. Edmundum oraturus progreditur.—Ralph Coggeshall, *Chron. Angl.*, in Martene, *Vet. Script. amp. Collect.*, v. 835, 836 [*R.S.*, lxvi. 62, 63].

[52] Qui (Princeps Walliæ Edwardus) mox, una cum patre suo imploraturus auxilium, in Anglia loca Sanctorum visitans, diversis

Edward fought and won the battle of Poitiers soon afterwards. This island's sanctuaries were neither few nor without a name: like lamps set upon a seven-branched candlestick casting rays of holy light around, she pointed to, among many others, those seven undecayed bodies of the saints which it was her happiness to own—St. Elphege's at Canterbury, the Confessor's in London, St. Edmund's at Bury, St. Etheldreda's and St. Withburga's at Ely, at Durham St. Cuthberht's, and St. Waltheof's at Melrose.[53]

(377) That the best of what this world could yield was freely bestowed upon the tombs of

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diversa munera condonavit. Quo tempore, Rex pater apud Westmonasterium caput sanctissimi obtulit Benedicti.—Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, 170 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 279].

[53] Gaudeat nunc Anglia, se septimum Sanctum corporaliter incorruptum divino munere adeptam, totumque regnum septemplici candelabro irradiatum. Lætetur Cantuaria metropolis Angliæ super incorrupto corpore sancti martyris et archipræsulis Elphegi et Lundonia caput regni de corpore instar viventis invento sanctissimi regis et confessoris Edwardi; exultet Betergisvurgia, quæ nunc Edundisbiria vocatur, in sorte sua sibi pervenisse corpus soporanti simile sancti Ethmundi regis et martyris, similiter et Elisnensis ecclesia illius vicina ex gemmis pretiosissimis Etheldriæ videlicet et Wiburgæ virginum corporibus integerrimis; glorietur, ut dignum est, Dunelmensis ecclesia cum tota dioecesi et vicina sua super corpore omni corruptione carente sanctissimi confessoris atque pontificis Cuberti; sic et Melrosensis abbatia ex incorrupta gleba sancti abbatis Walteni, &c.—Joscelin of Furness, *Vita S. Waltheni*, in *AA. SS. Augusti*, i. 276. Proper names have been sadly mangled here by Joscelin's transcriber.

Among the favourite pilgrimages in this island, was St. David's in Wales (Will. Malmes., *Gesta Reg. Angl.*, v., § 435) [*R.S.*, cclvii. ii. 507, 508]; and in A.D. 1286 our Edward I. and his queen Eleanor went thither:—Rex Edwardus venit causa peregrinationis apud Sanctum David una cum Domina regina Angliæ nomine Elionora. —*Annal. Eccl. Menev.*, in Wharton, *Angl. Sac.*, ii. 651.

these and all other holy men and women; and that our workmen strove to show the utmost of their skill in fashioning those monuments into samples of beautiful handicraft, we can easily believe. But

The Shape in which Shrines were built and the Spot whereat they stood

in our old churches, are questions which have a (378) liturgical as well as architectural interest about them.

In many instances a saint's tomb, being the first grave in which he was buried, arose but a few feet, if any, above the pavement of the church, or of the undercroft wherein it oftener stood.[54] When, however, the Almighty had vouchsafed to afford proofs of His servant's holiness by miracles wrought at his burial-place, over it was soon built a slight but ornamented casing of stone, in the sides of which were left window-like holes for any one to thrust his head through and kiss the

[54] St. Erkenwald's tomb in the undercroft of St. Paul's, London, is well described by the following extract from that saint's life :— Eo tempore quo ipsius sancti presulis (Erkenwaldi) prefati corpus adhuc in cripta in sarcophago servabatur, testudo ejusdem cripte pingenda fuit. Interea revoluto anni circulo, solempnitas ipsius sancti patris Erkenwaldi illuxit. Nullus ibi Missam illa die celebravit; altare discoopertum fuit, propter instrumenta erecta, pictoris officio idonea. Innumerabilis multitudo utriusque sexus convenit ad oratorium orare volentes et oblationes ac luminaria ferentes; sed introitus eis non paruit. Pictor enim januam serravit, ut ipsam arcuatam testudinem coloribus vernicularet.— Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* [Horstman, i. 398].

slab beneath which lay the body:[55] often were these gaps in the wall so (379) wide, and the hollow within so roomy, that the halt and the lame might crawl inside and stretch themselves full length upon the grave, as unto God they cried for their healing, unto the saint for his prayers in that behalf.[56]

Often the rebuilding of the whole or a part of the church—oftener still the wish to do honour to the holy dead, "God bearing them witness in signs and wonders and divers miracles"[57]—led to a translation of the saints' bodies. Then was the new tomb constructed after another and more majestic pattern, and set up in one of the most conspicuous situations in the hallowed pile. Eastward of the (380) choir, and peering above (but behind) the high altar's reredos,[58]

[55] Erectus est autem circa sarcophagum marmoreum paries de lapidibus magnis sectis, cæmento et ferro et plumbo firmissime consolidatis, duas in utroque laterum habens fenestras, quibus advenientes capitibus immissis ad osculum sarcophagi pervenire valerent, &c. (*De Mirac. S. Thomæ*, p. 93). Such kind of openings are shown in our picture, p. 344.

[56] Our old English illuminations furnish examples of such a practice; and it is well shown in one of our pictures, p. 317.

[57] They buryed this holy body (of St. Edward kinge and martyr) in ye chirche yerde at the este ende of the chirche (of Warham). But now ouer ye graue is bylded a fayre chapell of our Lady; & in ye place where he was fyrste buryed is nowe a fayre welle, whiche is nowe called saynt Edwardes welle, where our Lorde sheweth many miracles for his holy martyr sayt Edwarde, &c. (*Y^e^ Golden Legend*, fol. cxliij). Who sholde tell all the myracles that our blessyd Lorde hath shewed for this holy martyr (St. Thomas of Canterbury), it sholde ouermoche endure.—*Ibid.*, fol. clxxiiij.

[58] Such was, at one time, the position of the great shrine at St. Alban's abbey, that there was neither reredos nor space between

stood the principal shrine, though (381) sometimes it served by itself instead of a reredos, for more

it and the high altar, but the shrine's west end formed the altar's reredos:—Iste piæ memoriæ Abbas Simon ex eo tempore cœpit provide ac sapienter thesaurum non modicum auri et argenti et gemmarum pretiosarum, diligentissime coadunare, et thecam exteriorem, quam nos "feretrum" appellamus (qua ipso tempore nullam vidimus nobiliorem,) cœpit per manum præcellentissimi artificis, Magistri Johannis aurifabri, fabricari; et tam laboriosum, sumptuosum, et artificiosum opus infra paucos annos feliciter consummavit; et loco suo eminentiori, scilicet, supra majus altare, contra frontem celebrantis collocavit, ut in facie et in corde habeat quilibet celebrans Missam super idem altare Martyris memoriam. Et idcirco in obiectu visus celebrantis, Martyrium eiusdem, scilicet decollatio, figuratur. In circuitu autem feretri, videlicet duobus lateribus, fecit vitæ Beati Martyris seriem, quæ fuit arrha et præparatio passionis suæ, eminentibus imaginibus de argento et auro, opere propulsato, (quod vulgariter "levatura" dicitur,) evidenter effigiari. In capite vero quod respicit Orientem, imaginem Crucifixi, cum Mariæ et Johannis iconibus, cum diversarum gemmarum ordine decentissimo, veneranter collocavit. In fronte vero Occidentem respiciente, imaginem Beatæ Virginis, puerum suum tenentis in gremio, eminenti opere inter gemmas et pretiosa monilia aurea, in throno sedentem incathedravit. Et sic ordine martyrum in tecto utrobique disposito, theca in crispam et artificiosam cristam consurgit; in quatuor angulis, turribus fenestratis, tholis chrystallinis cum suis mirabilibus quadratur venusta. In ipsa igitur, quæ miræ magnitudinis est, ipsius Martyris theca, (quæ quasi eius conclave est, et in qua ipsius secreta ossa recondi dinoscuntur) ab Abbate Gaufrido fabricata, convenienter reconditur.—Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abb.*, p. 60 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 189]. From Joscelin de Brakelond's account of a fire which well-nigh burned down the shrine of St. Edmund, we learn several particulars relative to the position both of the high altar and the shrine itself, as well as their respective adornments: Erat quidam ligneus tabulatus inter feretrum et magnum altare super quem duo cerei quos solebant custodes feretri reclutare et cereum cereo superponere, et indecenter conjungere. Erant sub tabulato illo multa reposita indecenter, linum, et filum, et cera, et utensilia varia, immo quicquid veniebat in manus custodum, ibi reponebatur hostio et parietibus ferreis existentibus. Cum ergo dormirent custodes nocte . . . cecidit, ut credimus, pars cerei reclutati jam conbusti super predictum tabulatum pannis

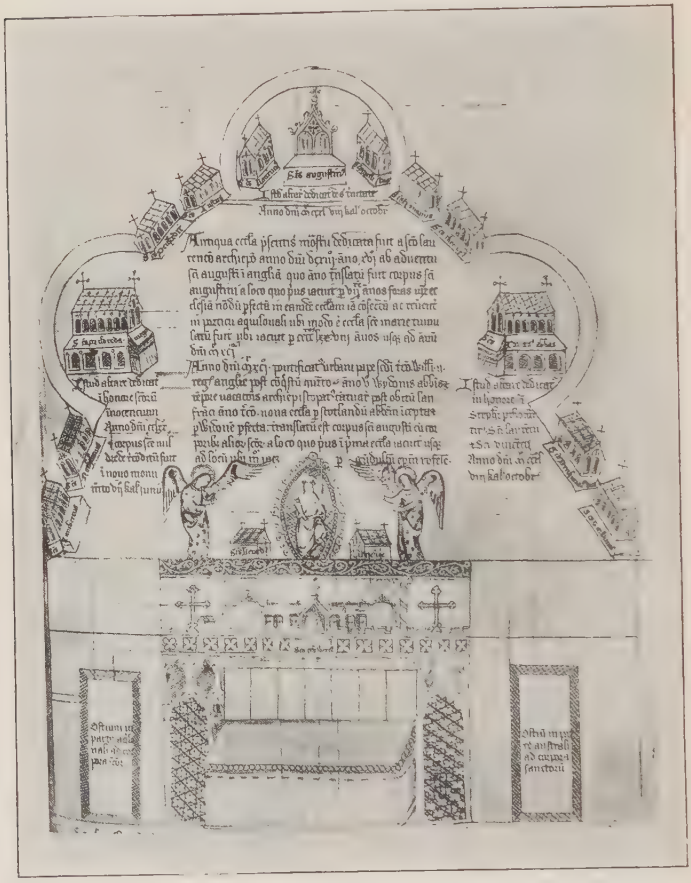
generally there were several, in each of our cathedrals and minsters.[59] Stretching out into (382) an oblong square of much more length than breadth, it rose up into two stories, of which the first was of stone or marble, the second of wood sheathed in gold or silver. As it lay lengthwise, its foot pointed towards the east, its head to the west, at which end there was almost always a small altar, whereon—at the saint's festival, and a few other solemnities during the year, if not oftener—mass used to be said.[60] How such a little

opertum et cepit omnia proxima que supra et subtus erant accendere, ita quod parietes ferrei omnino candescerent (*Chron.*, p. 78). Magnum altare quod prius concavum erat, ubi sepius quedam indecenter reponebantur, et spatium illud quod erat inter feretrum et altare, solidari fecit (abbas) lapide et cemento, ne aliquid ignis periculum fieri possit per neggligenciam custodum.—*Ibid.*, p. 85.

[59] St. Erkenwald's shrine stood just behind the high altar in St. Paul's Cathedral, London (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 15). St. Hugh's shrine of pure gold occupied the same position in Lincoln Cathedral (*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1286). Such, too, was the place for the shrine at Durham. At York, St. William's shrine, at the translation of his relics, was set up in the choir :—S. Willielmi corpus cum gaudio et solennitate qua decuit, ab imo in altum, a communi loco in chorum . . . translatum.—*AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 144. In Winchester Cathedral there stood "behind the high altar St. Swithin's shrine, being of plate silver, and gilt, and garnished with stones." "Item one and twenty shrines, some all silver and gilt, and some part silver and gilt, and part copper and gilt, and some part silver and part ivory, and some copper and gilt, and some set with garnished stones."—*Mon. Angl.*, i. 202.

[60] "At the west end of this shrine of saint Cuthbert was a little altar adjoyned to it for masse to be said on, onely uppon the great and holy feast of Saint Cuthbert's day in Lent, &c." (*Ancient Monuments, Rites, &c., of Durham*, p. 3). Among the engravings at the end of Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.*, i. (new edition), there is one which shows, from an illuminated manuscript belonging to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the high altar with its "beam," and with several shrines standing on the ground behind it, in St. Austin's Canter-

altar once stood leaning against the wall just under the diapering, and between those two twisted

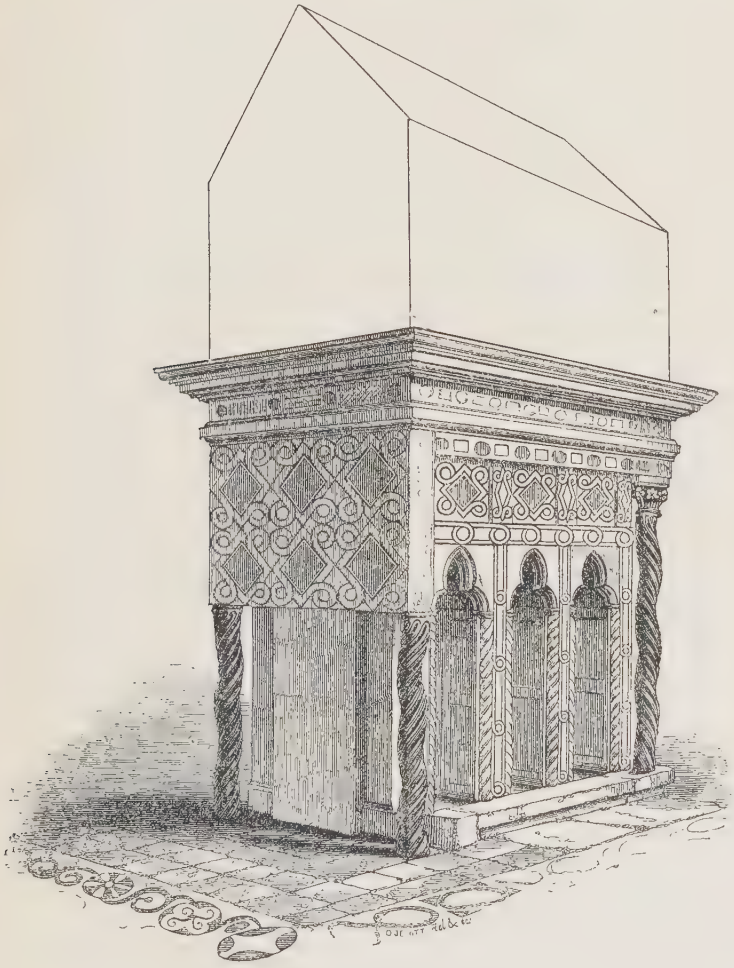


HIGH ALTAR OF ST. AUSTIN'S, CANTERBURY

shafts, with its raised foot-board reaching out to

bury. Of these shrines, three at least have each a small altar at its west end.

the ornamented floor, may be well seen in this woodcut, which shows, as it now is, the marble



basement or lower story upon which rested, till Henry VIII.'s days, (383) the gorgeous shrine

in Westminster Abbey of St. Edward the Confessor.[61]

[61] The spot whereon the uprooted altar with its narrow steps once stood, is shown by those mean red square tiles, surrounded by the once beautiful and costly mosaic pavement overspreading the whole floor of this chapel. Now is standing there an old wooden table—perhaps the one from off which the regalia, so called of St. Edward the Confessor, have been taken at the crowning of many of our sovereigns since the change in the nation's religion, thus becoming another proof, furnished unwittingly by Protestants themselves, of the former existence of the saint's altar, the saint's relics, the saint's invocation, in Westminster Abbey. The translation of this saint's relics is still marked in the calendar to the "Book of Common Prayer," as a saint's day, on the 13th of October.

Besides other claims to the antiquary's attention, this monument is curious from being the larger and more important of the only two pieces of Italian Gothic architecture in this country. Its twisted and furrowed shafts will be new to the untravelled Englishman, who would find the whole erection still more unlike what his eye has been accustomed to look upon, could he now see it as it once was, overlaid—shafts and all—with a sort of showy mosaic, made of small square and triangular pieces of porphyry, coloured marble, and a gilt glass-like composition. The twisted pillar, after the kind beheld in this instance, got into use at Rome, towards the thirteenth century. Running about a splay in the upper moulding were at first written—if Dart, in his *Westminster Abbey* (ii. 25), speaks truly—these verses :—

> Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno
> Et bis centeno cum completo quasi dexo (deno?)
> Hoc opus est factum quod Petrus duxit in actum
> Romanus civis, &c.

which, in the reign of Richard II., gave place to others. At what period the present almost faded inscription was written, is not known. To judge, however, by the few golden letters of the ordinary Roman shape, and the shabby stencilled diapering on several parts of the sides of this construction, to hide the patches where the mosaic had been picked off, it would seem that both the inscription and the painting were executed about the reign of James II., probably to make the Confessor's tomb look somewhat decent at that king's coronation. The frightful wooden top, with its two tiny elevations, one of Ionic, the other of Corinthian

SHRINE OF ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1902)

page 318

(384) Besides being overspread with architectural adornments, this stone basement or lower story whereon (385) the shrine itself rested, was turned to an useful purpose. Upon the steps [62] all around

pilasters, is a piece of tame classicism perpetrated towards the end of the seventeenth century.

On this stone work of Peter the Roman was set up, as our diagram in outline shows, the gorgeous and beautiful golden jewelled shrine wrought by the two London goldsmiths, Fitz Otho and his son Edward, who executed all those figures of angels and saints and kings enumerated in note 70 further on; and the expenses for which, or, as they are called, "ad operationes pheretri beati Edmundi," are set down at various times in the Close Rolls for the latter half of Henry III.'s reign. These London Fitz Othos came of a thoroughly English stock: their forefathers in Anglo-Saxon times were moneyers, and, as such, held from the crown, lands in Essex.—Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday Book*, i. 462.

The then abbot of Westminster, Richard de Ware, who went to Rome on business (A.D. 1267), deeply smitten, as it would seem, by his first sight of the incrustation-style of ornament, brought over to England the Roman citizen Peter, less as an architect than an able workman in a mode of decoration quite unknown to this land. Abbot Ware, in his taste for Roman Gothic and incrustation, found happily no followers here; and the two monuments in Westminster Abbey, the underpart of the Confessor's shrine, and the masonry of Henry III.'s tomb hard by—and both of Ware's putting up—are the only, though mutilated, specimens of it in England: in comparison with the beautiful English monuments at their side, these Italian ones are bald, mean, and tasteless.

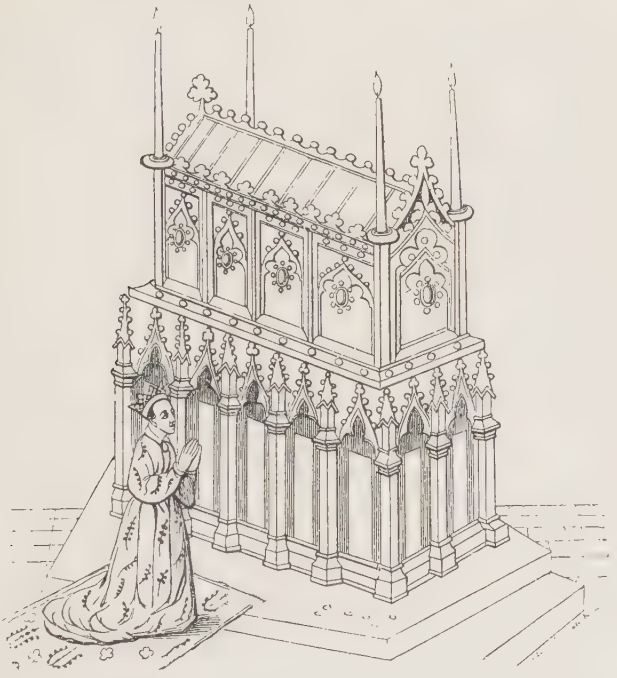
[62] These steps at the foot of the lower or marble story of the shrine are clearly pointed out to us in the following words of the Durham monk:—Ad pedes Sancti pontificis (Cuthberti) in fine sepulchri, luminare illud super lapidem posuit (quidam devotus), et oratione completa recessit. . . . In brevi articulo temporis, multiplices candelæ plicaturas accenderat . . . flamma . . . mirum itaque in modum flamma illa pannos qui sepulchrum ambierant, omnes infuderat, et argento auro et gemmis, ac ligneo interius locello quibus diutissime insederat, nichil omnino læsionis intulisse præsumpserat . . . Videres igitur ceras liquentes supra lapidem hac et illac excurrendo diffluere; ac etiam, perfusis undique gradibus, ad inferiora pavimenti latius descendisse (Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 92). In the picture (p. 321), King Henry VI. is kneeling at the step of St. Edmund's shrine.

at its foot the (386) pilgrim found an easy kneeling-place, as he told his beads; while the cripple, the bed-ridden, the sick (387) might be carried by their friends when of themselves they could not creep inside, if it were hollow, and lie down in the space left for that purpose; or else, as they made their prayer to God, and asked their patron's intercession, seated within its deeply-sunk niches, lean their aching limbs against the wall, with the saint's relics immediately over them.[63] (388) The guiltless, too, fleeing in their weakness from before those mighty ones who laughed the civil laws to scorn, as well as the guilty who ran from the wrath of outraged justice, found within this same lower part of some great saint's shrine, a hallowed sanctuary not to be broken through by any man.[64]

[63] St. Cuthbert's feretory in Durham Cathedral was "adjoyninge to the quire and the high altar on the west end, and reachinge towards the nine altars on the east . . . this sacred shrine was exalted with most curious workmanshipp, of fine and costly green marble, all limned and gilt with gold, having foure seats or places convenient under the shrine, for the pilgrims or lame or sick men, sittinge on their knees to leane and rest on, in time of theire devout offeringes and fervent prayers to God and holy St. Cuthbert."—*Rites of Durham*, p. 5. This lower part was the pious work of John de Nevil: Dominus Johannes de Nevill, dicto sancto (Cuthberto) devotissimus, et fidelis ejus filius, fecit . . . novum opus marmoreum et alabastrinum sub feretro sancti Cuthberti, pro quo solvit plusquam cc libras argenti. Et fecit Londoniæ in cistulis includi et per mare usque ad Novum Castrum transferri, &c.—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. 135. The lower part of St. Edward the Confessor's shrine in Westminster Abbey, had niches, and was solid; but other shrines were hollow below, as may be seen in the picture (p. 344) from the Cambridge MS.

[64] By the text and pictures we may now easily perceive how the frightened monk could make for himself, under St. Edmund's shrine,

(389) On this house-like little building, which was sometimes called the "tomb,"[65] rested the



ST. EDMUND THE MARTYR'S SHRINE, AT BURY: an illumination in Lydgate's life of the saint.—MS. Harl. 2278.

a hiding place from his angered abbot: Veniens ergo domum, feretro Sancti Ædmundi latenter me supposui, timens ne dominus abbas me caperet, et incarceraret, qui nichil mali merueram; nec erat monachus qui mecum audebat loqui, nec laicus qui mihi auderet victum ministrare, nisi aliquis furtive.—Joscelin of Brakelond, *Chron.*, p. 36. St. Cuthberht's shrine, as a place of refuge, is mentioned by Reginald, who lets us see how the fugitive crept inside its lower or first story: Sub ipso denique Sancti Cuthberti sepulcro ei cubiculare quietis extiterat, et præ anxietate spiritus, perstans altius secus sacrum corpus incorruptum, compressis digitorum articulis utpote cum pugno thecam ipsius sic sæpius contundendo dicebat, "Sancte et pie Cuthberte, subveni, auxiliare et protege, &c."—Reginald, *De Admir. S. Cuthberti Virtut.*, p. 119.

shrine itself, which held the coffin or chest having within it the saint's relics. This case was of wood, overlaid with plates of gold or silver-gilt,[66] studded with gems, and in its dimensions every wise smaller than the marble structure out of which it arose as an uppermost narrower story.

(390) To this chest the goldsmith, whose work it always was, gave an architectural form: it had its flying buttresses, its windows filled in with tracery, its pinnacles ribbed with crockets as light and thin and crispy as leaves upon a bough, and its tall crest purfled with knobs of sparkling jewels to run along the ridge of its steeply-pitched roof.[67] Upon the

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To understand our mediæval writers thoroughly, we must know something of church mediæval antiquities. But of those several questions connected with our olden ritual, there are few upon which the most learned among our Protestant archæologists betray a want of knowledge so much as on the subject of shrines: an instance of this we gave at pp. 90, 91, note 4.

[65] Cumque uno die in processione solenni sancti confessoris corpus portaretur, contigit ut cum processio cum sanctis reliquiis in ecclesiam esset reversa, dum adhuc staret processio inter tumbam et ostium cantica laudis solito more decantans, &c.—*Acta S. Willielmi archiep. Eboracensis*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 145. This shrine of St. William at York Cathedral was a movable one.

[66] Quidam argentarius nomine Eustachius cum limina domus in qua Sancti Erkenwaldi feretrum fabricaretur sepius attrivisset, ubi erat sepulchrum ligneum argento et auro tegendum in quo Sancti Erkenwaldi membra conderentur, &c.—Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* [Horstman, i. 399].

[67] From those of our old writers who have spoken on the subject, we learn that the jewelled richness of its crest was thought the crowning glory of a shrine. To get as many and as splendid gems as possible for the crest formed the cost, as it was the search of several years. Thus the abbot of Bury: Ad cristam faciendam pretiosissimam super feretrum gloriosi martiris Ædmundi studium suum convertit (abbas).—Joscelin of Brakelond, *Chron.*, p. 71. The

(391) foliaged corbels which sprouted out all about it stood figures of silver, of ivory, and of gold;[68]

work was carried on by the same dignitary, so that, Jam crista usque ad medietatem facta fuit, et lapides marmorei ad elevandum et sustinendum feretrum, ex parte magna, parati et politi fuerunt.—*Ibid.*, p. 80. Of the shrine which Geoffrey, who was chosen abbot of St. Alban's (A.D. 1119), built for holding our proto-martyr's relics, by the workmanship of Anketil (one of the monks in that minster), Matthew Paris tells us: Collecta igitur pecunia, propositum suum, in opere feretrali, diligentius et efficacius exequebatur. Et factum est, ut, fabricante domino Anketillo, hujus ecclesiæ monacho, adeo prosperatum est opus, et expeditum, ut intuentibus admirationem generaret. Fecit autem illud opere ductili, et elevato et educto, imagines impulit elevari, et concavas cæmento solidavit, et elegantiam totius corporis feretralis, in brevius culmen ascendendo coartavit. . . . Cristam tunc temporis minime perfecit, expectans ad hoc tempora commodiora, quibus ad hoc auro et argento, ac gemmis, uberius abundaret. . . . Proposuerat tamen illam cristam adeo nobilem et sumptuosam proculdubio facere, ut ex ea totius operis series venustatem sortiretur, et pluris foret quam totius feretri coopertura residua. Et cum omnia quam decenter fabricabantur in feretro, cuncta fecit copiose deaurari, ita ut potius aurea quam argentea viderentur, et apparerent. Et cum de antiquo hujus ecclesiæ thesauro prolatæ fuissent gemmæ ad opus feretri decorandum, allati sunt quidam ampli lapides, quos "sardios oniclios" appellamus, et vulgariter "cadmeos" nuncupamus.—Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abb.*, p. 38 [*R.S.*, xxviii., i. 83, 84].

[68] Speaking of St. Edward's shrine, Dart tells us that "here stood an image of the Virgin Mary, wrought in silver, which Eleanor, queen to Henry III., gave . . . also another image of the blessed Virgin, wrought in ivory; a piece very curious, and much esteemed by Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who offered it to the shrine."—*Westminster*, i. 55. King Edward II. offered, at his coronation, a pound of gold, made like a king holding a ring in his hand; and a mark of gold, which is eight ounces, made like a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive the ring.—*Ibid.*, p. 51. Richard, Earl of Warwick, in his will (A.D. 1435), says: I desire my executors to cause four images of gold, each weighing twenty pounds, to be made like unto myself, in my coat of arms, holding an anker betwixt my hands, and so to be offered and delivered in my name as follows: one to the shrine of St. Alban, to the honour of God, our Lady, and St. Alban; another to the

and (392) the deep quatrefoils let into its diapered sides were storied with scenes from the saint's life, done in bas-relief.[69] Lay-folks as well as churchmen (393) brought everything that could be found most precious in art or costly in material to adorn it;[70] the (394) artificer strove his best to work up

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shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury; the third at Bridlington, in Yorkshire; and the fourth at the shrine of the church of St. Winifrid at Shrewsbury.—*Test. Vet.*, i. 231.

[69] In illuminations, such for instance as are to be found in that beautifully limned life of St. Edward the Confessor, among the manuscripts in the Public Library, Cambridge, and marked Ee. iii. 59, we see the storied quatrefoils well shown. The bas-reliefs or *levatura* work on the great shrine at St. Alban's, wrought by Master John, are particularly noticed by Matt. Paris in note 58, p. 314. The saint's statue usually stood within a niche at the east end of the shrine: Qui ut erat destitutus visu, et cæteris membris omnibus invalidus, palpando gressus suos dirigens ad orientalem partem scrinii, in quo Sanctus requiescit, pervenit; et pedes ymaginis sancti regis devotius amplexus, deosculari et desuper lacrimari non desistit, &c.—*Vita Oswini*, p. 33. Of the beauty of our old English shrines as works of high art, as well as of their shape, and the costly materials bestowed upon them, some idea may be gathered from those foreign ones figured in the *AA. SS. Julii*, iii. 663; *Augusti*, ii. 666.

[70] Both foreign and native evidence tell of the splendour bestowed by this country on the shrines of its favourite saints. How rich must have been St. Edward's in Westminster Abbey, we may yet see from the list of those adornments which Henry III. spent years in gathering for it. The original Patent Roll, still kept in the Tower of London, shows us that amid the "aurum et lapides preciosas et jocalia deputata casse sive feretro in quo corpus beatissimi Edwardi Regis disposuimus collocari," there were:—In primis unum firmaculum cum saphiro in medio rubettis et perlis in circumferencia . . . unum firmaculum cum camauto in medio . . . j firmaculum cum camauto in medio . . . j firmaculum cum parva chamahuto in medio . . . j firmaculum cum garnata in medio . . . unum firmaculum cum saphiro in medio . . . j firmaculum cum prasinis balesiis turpibus. . . . Tres anuli cum smaragdinibus videlicet cum pulchro smaragdine . . . alius anulus precii xl. solidorum, tercius anulus precii unius marcæ, unus anulus cum

those bright gifts after such a fashion as to make pearls and (395) rubies and gold[71] to be thought

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rubettis . . . unus anulus cum rubettis . . . unus anulus cum balesiis. . . . Item unus anulus cum balesiis . . . unus anulus cum balesiis (besides six others of the same kind). Item j anulus cum rubettis . . . unus anulus cum turpi rubetto . . . j anulus cum pulchro saphiro . . . j anulus cum saphiro (besides nine others, two of which were "cum saphiro inciso") . . . j anulus cum garnata et smaragdine in circumferentia. . . . Duo baculi continentes xx et ij anulos cum diversis lapidibus . . . j balesius sine auro (besides three others) . . . j saphirus sine auro . . . j baculus continens vij anulos cum chamahutis parvis . . . j pulchrum chamahutum cum imaginibus filiorum Jacobi in capsa aurea cum rubettis et smaragdinibus in circumferentia . . . j camahutum cum tribus imaginibus in capsa aurea . . . j camah' cum imaginibus Moysis et serpentis in capsa auri . . . j camah' cum magno capite in capsa auri . . . j chamah' cum capite elevato in capsa auri . . . j chamah' cum curru et equitibus in capsa auri . . . j chamah' cum imagine in medio in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum imagine regis in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' optimum cum ij albis imaginibus in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum imagine leonis in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum duabus imaginibus et arbore una in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite elevato in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum ij capitibus in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum imagine beate Marie in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite elevato in capsa aurea . . . (another) . . . j chamah' cum capite duplicato in capsa aurea . . . j magna perla ad modum chamah' in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum aquila in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum ij angelis in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum ymagine alba in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite albo in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite bene crinato in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' album cum imagine mulieris cum puero et dracone in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum imagine et urina in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite dupplicato in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite albo in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite elevato in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum equo in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' capite albo in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite et leone opposito in capsa aurea ad modum crucis . . . j chamah' cum capite albo barbato . . . j chamah' in capsa aurea ad modum crucis cum bove . . . j chamah' parvum cum capite albo in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum imagine alba cum magestate ex parte alia in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' in capsa aurea ad modum targie . . . j chamah' cum magestate in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite

less of in the beholder's estimation than his own beautiful handicraft, (396) by which he had

albo in capsa aurea ad modum crucis . . . j chamah' cum ij capitibus albis in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum laticibus et curru in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' parvum cum imaginibus parvis in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum cane in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite barbato in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite . . . (another) . . . j chamah' cum magestate in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cristallinum cum capite in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite ruffo in capsa argentea . . . j chamah' cum capite bipertito crinato in capsa argentea . . . j chamah' parvum cum capite in capsa aurea . . . unum chamah' cum parvo capite albo in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite ruffo in capsa argenti . . . j chamah' parvum in capsa aurea . . . j parvum chamah' cum capite in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum leone in capsa aurea . . . j chamah' cum capite albo in capsa aurea . . . (another) . . . j chamah' in uno anulo pontificali . . . j onicleus in capsa argenti . . . (another) . . . j saphirus citrinus in capsa aurea . . . j amatista in capsa argenti . . . j prasina in capsa aurea . . . j amatista in capsa aurea . . . j amatista cum apparatu argenti ad modum crucis . . . j capsa aurea ad modum crucis cum saphiro in medio . . . una parva capsa ad modum crucis cum saphiro in medio . . . j parva capsa aurea cum rubettis . . . j capsa aurea cum una perla in medio grossa et sex smaragdinibus . . . una capsa aurea cum lapide precioso in medio . . . j capsa aurea cum lapide impregnato . . . j magnum capud cum corona aurea . . . Tria capita oniclea nuda sine capsa . . . magni saphiri citrini nudi . . . quatuor saphiri et duo citrini . . . onicleus unus et ij panchii caucidonii . . . Quinque chamah' sine capsa . . . j canis onicleus . . . j phola oniclea et alia cristallina . . . aurum in diversis pechiis cum quibusdam lapidibus. . . . In una chincia minuti saphiri et garnate. . . . Item minuti balesii in una chincia . . . minute prasine in una chincia . . . albe perle in una chincia . . . perle in una chincia . . . lapides diversi in una chincia. . . . Decem cokille et unum album capud . . . una amatista magna sine capsa. . . j saphirus in capsa aurea cum cruce supposita. . . .

Una ymago beati Edmundi Regis cum corona et ij grossis saphiris et j balesio sito in corona et ij prasinis et aliis minutis lapidibus . . . j Imago aurea unius regis cum balesio in pectore et aliis lapidibus minutis . . . una imago unius Regis tenentis in manu dextra florem cum saphiris smaragdinibus in medio corone et magna granata in pectore perlis et aliis minutis lapidibus tam in corona quam in corpore . . . j imago unius Regis cum granata in pectore aurea cum smaragdinibus granatis et aliis minutis

wrought the costly metal and more costly stones into a marvel of workmanship.[72] (397) England's

lapidibus . . . j imago Regis aurea cum saphiris in pectore et smaragdinibus et balesiis in medio corone et saphiris et granatis in corona et cetero corpore. . . . Quinque angeli aurei . . . j imago beate Marie cum filio coronata per circuitum tam in coronis quam in aliis membris cum rubettis, smaragdinibus, saphiris et granatis . . . una imago unius Regis aurea tenentis feretrum in manu sua per circuitum balesiis saphiris pulchris et in corona cum rubettis et esmał. . . . Item imago unius Regis tenentis chamach' cum ij capitibus in una manu, in alia septrum cum balesiis, prasinis, et perlis per circuitum . . . una imago Sĉi Petri tenentis in una manu ecclesiam, in alia claves et calcantis Neronem cum saphiro grosso in pectore et in circuitu cum prasinis, perlis, et saphiris . . . una magestas aurea in capsa lignea cum pulcherrima smaragdine in pectore per circuitum cum smaragdinibus et perlis in corona cum chamah', prasinis et saphiris per circuitum . . . aurum in licis cum chamah' . . . unus saphirus pulcherrimus. . . . Item alius saphirus . . . (two others). . . . Item viij chamah' in capsis aureis cum smaragdinibus per circuitum . . . unum par bacinorum auri . . . una cuppa clara . . . due cuppe veteres . . . unum magnum chamah' in capsa aurea cum cathena aurea. . . . Item unum chamah' cum capite sine capsa, &c.—*Patent Roll*, 51 Henry III., Memb. 20 d.

Most, if not all, of these eighty-five cameos, being very likely graven by heathenish hands, were wrought, in many instances (if we may judge from those still to be seen on the magnificent shrine at Cologne Cathedral), with subjects borrowed from pagan mythology; though Master Thomas of Wymundham, Nicholas of Leukenor, and Peter of Winchester, who drew up the above list, thought that they beheld in some of them personages of Holy Writ figured. By the Anglo-Saxons, as well as English, were cameos sought for, and set upon the shrines of the saints: of Leofric, the tenth abbot of St. Alban's, we are told, that during a dearth, he sold, to feed the poor, all the gold and silver vessels and ornaments of his church: Retentis tantummodo quibusdam gemmis pretiosis, ad quas non invenit emptores, et quibusdam nobilibus lapidibus insculptis quas "camæos" vulgariter appellamus. Quorum magna pars ad feretrum decorandum, cum fabricaretur, est reservata (Matt. Paris, *Vitæ. Abb.* p. 26) [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 29]. Because, however, they were rare and precious, these cameos were looked upon as fitting gifts to the Church for the adornment of her appliances; and to this cause is owing the preservation of many such artistic productions, as we have elsewhere

shrines were among the artistic wonders of olden Christendom; and far-off countries (398) sought for and got Englishmen to go and gem the churches there with like examples of their (399) exquisite

shown.—*Hierurgia,* chapter on "the Diptychs," §§ iv, v. [ii. 278, 279].

[71] Erasmus, who saw the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury a short time before it was plundered and destroyed, described it thus: Auream thecam theca contegit lignea, ea funibus sublata opes nudat inæstimabiles. . . . Vilissima pars erat aurum: gemmis raris ac prægrandibus collucebant, nitebant ac fulgurabant omnia. Quædam superabant ovi anserini magnitudinem. . . . Prior candida virga demonstrabat contactu singulas gemmas, addens nomen Gallicum, pretium et auctorem doni. Nam præcipuas monarchæ dono miserant.—*Peregrinatio Religionis ergo.* Of it, Stow says: It was built about a man's height all of stone, then upward of timber, plain, within the which was a chest of iron containing the bones of Thomas Becket. . . . The timber work of this shrine, on the other side, was covered with plates of gold, damasked and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with brooches, images, angels, chains, precious stones, and great orient pearls, the spoil of which shrine in gold and jewels of an inestimable value filled two great chests, one of which six or eight strong men could do no more than convey out of the church: all which was taken to the king's use, &c.—*Annals, Henry VIII.* To adorn a shrine, gatherings were made throughout the kingdom:—De subsidio procurando ad feretrum Sancti Thomæ Herefordens' per totum regnum, anno xiv. Edwardi II.—*Calendarium Rotol. Patentium,* p. 88.

[72] A.D. 1241, dominus rex Henricus III. unum feretrum ex auro purissimo et gemmis preciosis fecit ab electis aurifabris apud Londiniam, ut in ipso reliquiæ beati Edwardi reponerentur, ex sumptibus propriis artificiose fabricari. In qua fabrica, licet materia fuisset preciosissima, tamen secundum illud poeticum:

"Materiam superabat opus."

—Matt. Paris, *Hist. Ang.,* p. 387 [*R.S.,* lvii. iv. 156, 157]. That this monk of St. Alban's was more quickly stirred to admiration by the workmanship than the material splendours of a shrine, is shown us through those glowing words in which he tells us: Abbas Gaufridus, Beato Albano Patrono nostro, unam thecam gloriosam inchoavit, opere mirifico.—*Vitæ Abb.,* p. 37 [*R.S.,* xxviii. i. 80].

skill.[73] Ages after an artist had done his work, and done it well, our people would not let (400)

[73] Of an Anglo-Saxon shrine that was looked upon in Italy as a wonder in art, and of the skill shown by Anglo-Saxon workmen in that country, we have already spoken (see vol. i. pp. 232, 233). That England's skill in the fine arts, and the beauty of her works, were, for a long while, acknowledged by foreign countries, is incontestable. When our Henry I. wanted to send gold and silver, to a large amount, over to France, for the adornment of St. Julian's relics, kept at the cathedral of Le Mans, Hildebert, the bishop of that see, besought our king to have the shrine made in England, as our workmen were so far beyond the French:—Obtulit (rex Henricus) pontifici (Hildeberto) maximum pondus auri et argenti, unde sepulchrum beati Juliani honorifice . . . fieri potuisset . . . Hildebertus prudenter respuens dixit: Nos caremus in partibus nostris artificibus, qui tantum opus congrue noverint operari; exhinc regiæ congruit dispositioni tam diligens opera et impensa, in cujus regno et mirabiles refulgent artifices, et mirabilem operantur cælaturam (*Gesta Hildeberti Cenomanensis*, in Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.*, p. 314) [*P.L.*, clxxi. 92]. For such, among other artistic purposes, was it that the King of Denmark earnestly besought and got sent over to him from St. Alban's the monk Anketil, who had wrought the beautiful shrine in that minster: Memoratus autem Anketillus, monachus et aurifaber quandoque in Daciam venerat ad Regis Dacorum mandatum et supplicationem ad quippiam operis eidem faciendum. Ubi per septennium moram continuans, regiis præerat operibus aurifabrilibus, monetæ custos, et summus trapezita (Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abb.*, p. 38) [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 84]. Of Anketil's love for his art, as well as skill in it, Matthew Paris tells us in the same place: Dominus Anketillus, Ecclesiæ Sancti Albani monachus, et aurifaber incomparabilis, qui fabricam feretri manu propria, (auxiliante quodam juvene sæculari, discipulo suo, Salomone de Ely) et incepit et consummavit, diligenter in suo opere aurifabrili et animo studuit, et manu laboravit.—*Ibid.*, col. 2, sub fine [*R.S.*, 87].

Some of our antiquaries like to think that what we have of the most beautiful in mediæval art was wrought in this country by foreign hands, or came to us from abroad. The editor of *Manners and Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* assumes that the William Torel, after whose models in wax those graceful statues in the Eleanor crosses, and perhaps that queen's admirable cumbent figure on her tomb in Westminster Abbey (see before, p. 37), must have been an Italian; but for no weightier a reason than a fancy that the name Torel is the short of Torelli.

themselves believe that an end had come to their task of love, but they went on striving to shed (401) around their patron's tomb fresh splendours. Of those who could afford the means, few in this (402) country were they who did not, at one time or another, bestow a jewel or a golden trinket upon their favourite saint's shrine;[74] hardly a

Long before the death of Edward I.'s Eleanor, Torel was a name to be found in more counties than one in England. Benedict, abbot of Peterborough (from A.D. 1177 till 1194), in a highly valuable work of his, lately printed, *De Miraculis S. Thomæ Cantuariensis*, mentions "Walterium Torel, virum Warwicensem de villa quæ Adulvestre Anglice nuncupatur."—*Ibid.*, p. 179. In the 51st of Henry III., a William Torel at his death was seized of Turrocke, Westturrocke, and Turrocke Parva in Essex.—*Calend. Inquis. post mortem*, p. 30, num. 29. And another William Torel, very likely the former's son, died in the 18th of Edward I., leaving the same lands.—*Ibid.*, p. 101, num. 23. This name, then, being English, there are no grounds for supposing that an artist must have been an Italian because he called himself William Torel.

Concerning our grave-brasses, some of our writers would fain believe that among those valuable sepulchral monuments yet remaining to us, the best-wrought ones were done not in England but Flanders; and the only argument upon which they build this conjecture, is that at Bruges one or two are to be found very like them in certain peculiarities. If however we look at facts, we shall see the more logical conclusion is that these brasses at Bruges were made in England. Flanders possesses very few grave-brasses of any kind: in England we count them not by hundreds but thousands; and they are to be met with everywhere —not merely on the eastern coast which looks towards Flanders, but in the depths of Wales—in the poorest and furthest inland country churches. The use of these brasses being a striking feature in our old English ecclesiastical customs, this kingdom must have had at home, amid her crowd of native workmen, several who stood as high in their craft as did Anketil in his; so that, instead of asking Flanders for the more exquisite productions of the graving tool, England could have sent some of her own to Bruges and to Ghent.

[74] Itm I yeve and be qwethe to Seynt Edmond and his schryne my hevy peys noble, wich weyeth xxs. and my best herte of gold

year that did not see its crest and sides sparkling with another enchased adornment. Men as well as women, and from all ranks in life, sent thither the bravest of their finery; finger-rings, brooches, and necklaces, (403) knights' military collars and girdles, ladies' jewel-studded chains, prayer-beads of precious stones, either fastened by silver hooks to the cloth which fell down over parts of the shrine's base, or strung on those thin gilt iron rods which ran all around it, hung drooping there in glistening clusters.[75] Besides the beautiful and

with aungellys and a ruby with iiij. labellys of white ennamyl, the seid noble and the seid broche herte of gold to be hange, naylyd, and festynd vpon the shryne oñ my coste by the avys of mȳ executours wher they and the ffertrerys thynke and finde a place moost convenient, to the wourshippe of God and Seynt Edmūd.—*Wills, &c., of Bury St. Edmund's*, p. 35.

[75] Among many other rich ornaments about St. William's shrine in York Cathedral, were: Quatuor zonæ le harnyshed, duo paria (precularum) de la corall cum le gaudeys argenti deaurata, quatuor cochliaria argenti deaurata, zona argentea deaurata, quatuor le owchez cum lapidibus, quinque annuli cum lapidibus, a broche of gold enamylet.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1206. Una cathena aurea cum le essez . . . ex dono domini Nicholai Bowet militis, ad feretrum Richardi Scrope.—*Ibid.*, 1210. The rods upon which such gifts were hung about the saints' tombs, are thus noticed: Super virga signata cum litera D. duæ zonæ, una viridis ornata cum ramis et volucribus; alia rubea cum lapidibus pretiosis in le buckle, &c.—*Ibid.*, 1206. The cloths, of which there seem to have been three, the fourth or west end of the shrine being no doubt occupied by a small altar, are also mentioned along with their ornaments: Imagines argenti in primo panno xiij, item xv pieces of gold, item a ring of gold without a stone; affixa secundo panno, xviii ankers and hooks . . . iv boukylls and penands . . . a boukle of gold . . . one payre of beads of silver with rich gaudeys . . . ii belts garnishyd with silver . . . xi rings of gold, ij arrow heads of gold, viij pieces of gold; affixa tertio panno . . . ij pieces harneys for horse heads . . . j hart of gold ynameled with white and green . . . two old nobles . . . a girdyll throu garnishit with knots of silver

rich in art, what (404) was deemed the wondrous in nature might be found there too; and the so-called griffon's egg and the unicorn's horn were not the least conspicuous among all those offerings,[76] which, if too heavy, or unfitting to be placed upon the shrine itself, were put somewhere about its immediate neighbourhood. Hither, likewise, were brought, (405) and left to hang up in thanksgiving to heaven for victory, those flags, and no small share of that spoil, which the country had won from her foes. Many of our churches could once, some can even yet, furnish forth evidence, in the guardianship of such trophies, of how the kings, the nobility, the commoners, of this land believed that God often bestowed to

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and gilt.—*Ibid.* Sometimes between the upper part of the stone basement and the shrine itself there were steps or shelves, upon which smaller relics or fragments of relics were set out in three rows, as we find was the practice at Durham.—Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 121.

[76] In the treasury of Salisbury Cathedral (A.D. 1222), there were "cornua eburnea. iiii, item ova Gripina. iiii" (Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies*, 177); and among the ornaments about St. Cuthberht's shrine, Durham (A.D. 1372), might have been seen "duo ungues griffonis" (Beda, *Opera*, Appendix) [*P.L.*, xcv. 356, 357]; "unum ovum griffinum ornatum et divisum" (*ibid.*, 360). At York Cathedral there was "unum cornu unicorni stans fixum in magno lapide" (*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1205). These eggs were no doubt ostrich eggs, which to this day are sought after and hung up by the Abyssinians about their churches, and particularly at their altars, as Johnson, one of our latest travellers, observed (*Southern Abyssinia*, ii. 285). The rarity as well as value of horns for offerings, may be seen in note 53, on p. 379. One of these horns is figured hanging from the "beam" in old St. Peter's Church, Rome, in the fresco of Constantine's pretended donation, painted in the Vatican palace.—See Pistolesi, *Vaticano Descritto*, vii., plate 57.

His saints' intercession in men's behoof the object of men's prayers. In Durham Cathedral "the king of Scots' ancient and his banner, with the Lord Nevil's banner, and divers other noblemen's ancients, were all brought to St. Cuthbert's feretory; and there the said Lord Nevil did make his petition to God and that holy man St. Cuthbert; and did offer jewels and banners to the shrine of that holy and blessed man St. Cuthbert, within the feretory; and there the said banners and ancients stood and hung till the suppression of the house. The Lord Nevil's banner-staff was all wrythen about with iron, from the midst upward, and did stand and was bound to the irons on the north end of the feretory; and the king of Scots' banner was bound to the midst of the said irons, and did hang over the midst of the alley of the nine altars, and was fastened with a cord to a loop of iron, being in a pillar under St. Catharine's window, in the east end of the church."[77] Scotland's far-famed coronation-stone, which Edward I. carried (406) off with him from Scone, this renowned English prince brought home to Westminster, and framing it within a wooden chair, gave it to be used in that abbey as the liturgical seat of the priest who might sing mass at the altar of the Confessor's shrine.[78]

[77] *Rites of Durham*, p. 5.

[78] Transivit (rex Edwardus I.) per abbathiam de Scone; ubi sublato lapide quo Reges Scotorum tempore coronationis solebant uti pro throno, usque Westmonasterium transtulit illum, jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum.—Walsingham, *Hist.*

(407) To this day that same chair, with the royal stone of Scotland in it, is still there, standing almost at that very spot whereon our first Edward had it placed; thus bearing loud witness, up to these our times, of the ritual no less than the belief followed ages ago here in England. The shrine of a saint was, on occasions, made the depository of the pledge by which a public deed had been publicly ratified; and the curiously wrought horn, the ivory-hafted dagger, or the jewelled ring, might sometimes be found left there as an abiding everlasting witness to the lawful bestowal of lands upon that church wherein those

Angl., p. 68 [*R.S.*, xxviii. i. 60]. In connection with this little altar, once standing at the west end of St. Edward's shrine, an old record speaks of a historical monument — the chair made by Edward I. to hold beneath it the "stone of Scotland"—which yet stands on the spot assigned to it by that king: Magistro Waltero Pictori, pro custubus et expensis per ipsum factis circa unum gradum faciendum ad pedem nove cathedre in qua petra Scocie reponitur juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edward in ecclesia abbatie Westmonasteriensis juxta ordinationem Regis, &c.—*Liber Quotid. Guarderobæ*, anno xxviii., Edward I., p. 60. Our English Edward felt and showed warm devotion to his namesake the Confessor, and taking him as one of his avowries (see vol. ii. p. 394 for the meaning of the word), always had the banner of that last of our Anglo-Saxon princes carried, along with others, before him to the fight: Pro quinque lanceis emptis pro quinque vexillis regis portandis in guerra Scocie anno presenti, videlicet duobus vexillis de armis Anglie, tercio vexillo de armis Sancti Jeorgii, quarto de armis Sancti Edmundi, et quinque de armis Sancti Edwardii, &c. —*Ibid.*, p. 64. That this banner could have been no mean thing, either in the materials or the handicraft bestowed on the making of it, appears from the following:—Magistro Roberto aur' (aurifabro) et socio suo, ad fabricandum bannerii S. Edwardi . . . per xlviij dies operabiles cap. pro se et socio suo, per singulos dies xij. *d.* . . . xlviij. *s.*—*Rotulus de Emptionibus ad opera Capellæ Regis apud Westminst.*

holy relics stood.[79] Whenever some sudden inroad was threatened to their town, without forgetting those means of warfare lent them by the world, Englishmen were wont to ply ghostly weapons too. After they had manned the walls, and locked their city's gates, often did the people's (408) leaders hasten to the church, and laying down the keys upon the shrine of its patron saint, thus solemnly put themselves and all their fellow-townsfolks under his brotherly keeping, with the hope that, whilst they fought, he would pray; so that, by his intercession, God would vouchsafe to screen their children, their wives, themselves, from hurt, and their homesteads and hearths from harm.[80]

In our cathedrals and minsters, besides the patron saint's shrine, very often were there other shrines, smaller in size, and not so ornamented, though still beautiful and splendid, but occupying a less conspicuous site within the hallowed pile.[81]

[79] Rex (Willielmus II.) per cultellum eburneum quod in manu tenuit et abbati (de Tavistoc) porrexit hoc donum (manerium de Wlurintuna) peregit apud curiam . . . Qui quidem cultellus jacet in feretro sancti Rumoni. In cujus manubrio inseritur talis scriptura. ‡ Ego Willielmus rex dedi Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Tavistoc terram Wlerintun.—*Mon. Angl.*, ii. 497.

[80] Opidani vero claves ad loculum beati Cuthberti ponentes, ei, tanquam summo defensori, omnem resignabant curam, cui ipsi permitteret deinceps optinendam.—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. 15.

[81] There were at that time (32 Henry VIII.), two shrines in that cathedral church (Lincoln); the one of pure gold, called St. Hugh's shrine, standing on the back side of the high altar . . . the place is easily known by the irons yet fastened in the pavement stones there. The other, called St. John of Dalderby his shrine, was of pure silver, standing in the south end of the great cross

Even, too, the country parish church could sometimes boast of its shrine:[82] there, however, the (409) saint's elevated tomb arose up not, as in the cathedral, behind the high altar, but stood inside a little chapel of its own at the eastern end of one or other of the aisles, which for that reason came to be called the feretory aisle.[83]

High above very many of our English shrines, whether large or small, outspread itself a particular kind of wooden cover. Made at first immovable, it rested upon four tall thin pillars, so that while overshadowing, it could not hide the shrine below, which was always to be seen from every side beneath it.[84] Upon this "repa" or hovel, our fathers

aisle.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii., 1286. Leland says that "S. Hughe liethe in the body of the est part of the chirche above the highe altare."—*Itin.*, viii., 3.

[82] In his last testament (proved A.D. 1477), Richard Fouler says: I will that the aisle of St. Romwold's church (Bucks) where I am to be buried, and where my friends are buried, be finished at my cost, and that a new tomb or shrine for the said saint, where the old one is now standing, be made curiously with marble, in length and breadth as shall be thought convenient . . . consideration being had to the room; and upon the same I will that there be set a coffin or a chest, curiously wrought and gilt, as it appertaineth for to lay the bones of the said saint in, &c.—*Test. Vet.*, i., 345.

[83] This we learn from, among other sources, the churchwardens' accompts of St. Margaret's, Westminster; in them is inserted this item: For my Lady Jakis for her grave in the feretre isle, vii. *s.* iiij. *d.*—*Illustrations of Ancient Manners, &c.*, p. 3.

[84] Celebratis ergo rite ab episcopo in tantis præconiis Missarum solenniis, venerandum corpus in monumento novo ab eo consecrato, tanti confessoris (S. Guthlaci) repositioni digno, ad orientalem altaris plagam feliciter collocarunt . . . Lapidem autem signantes, retinaculis, et institis ferreis tantum thesaurum munierunt. . . . Super lapidem vero decurio quidam Robertus de Guardineto,

(410) bestowed almost as much richness and ornament as on the great reliquary itself which it canopied. Later, a change took place, not so much in the shape, as in the appliance, of this covering; and it became fashioned, so as to be easily raised up, or let fall, by means of ropes and pulleys. When lowered quite down, it shut in the upper story or real portion of the shrine itself. At Durham Cathedral, on St. Cuthberht's feast, "and certain other festivall dayes, in the time of devine service, they were accustomed to drawe up the cover of St. Cuthbert's shrine, beinge of wainescott, whereunto was fastened unto every corner of the said cover to a loope of iron, a very stronge cord, which cords were all fest together over the midst of the cover, and a strong rope was fest unto the loopes or bindinge of the said cordes; which runn upp and downe in a (411) pully under the vault which was above over St. Cuthbert's feretorie, for the drawinge upp of the cover of the said shrine; and the said rope was fastned to a loope of iron, in the north piller of the feretory, haveing six silver bells fastned to the said rope, soe as when the

miræ gravitatis veteranus, omnium religiosorum amator, conductis aurifabrorum et gemmariorum primoribus elimatæ amplitudinis artificiosa sculptura repam in sublime suspensam construxit; quam ex diversorum metallorum lignorumque generibus conpactam, auri argentique laminis vestitam crystallis variisque gemmis adornatam, ditavit sicut usque in hodiernum humanis visibus apparet (*Translatio S. Guthlaci*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 56). For a figure of this "hovel" or immoveable covering over the shrine, and called the "repa," look into *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 429. The blessing of the new shrine will be noticed, further on.

cover of the same was drawinge upp, the belles did make such a good sound, that itt did stir all the people's harts that was within the church to repaire unto itt, and to make ther praiers to God, and that holy saint Cuthbert; and that the behoulders might see the glourious ornaments thereof. Also the cover had, att every corner, two ringes made fast, which did runn upp and downe on fower round staves of iron when itt was in drawinge upp, which staves were made fast to every corner of the marble that St. Cuthbert's coffin did lye upon; which cover was all gilded over, and of eyther syde was painted fower lively images curious to the beholders; and on the east end was painted the picture of our Saviour sitting on a rainbowe to geive judgment, very lively to the behoulders; and on the west end of itt was the picture of our Lady, and our Saviour on her knee. And on the top of the cover from end to end was most fine brattishing of carved worke cutt out with dragons, and other beasts, most artificially wrought, and the inside was vernished with a fyne sanguine colour that itt might be more perspicuous to the behoulders; and att every corner of the cover was a locke to keep itt close, but att such tymes as was (412) fitt to shew itt."[85] In the same church stood another gorgeous shrine, St. Beda's, which also had one of these moveable lids hung over it.[86]

[85] *Rites of Durham*, p. 4.

[86] *Ibid.*, 38.

Such a contrivance for drawing up and down these coverings, was the thought of later ages, since the immoveable hovel or "repa," which very likely had existed among the Anglo-Saxons, remained still in universal use during the thirteenth century, and may be till some time afterwards; for the custom was then, as it had been many ages before in this land, to spread, as our Anglo-Saxon brethren did,[87] a wide pall of some precious stuff beautifully embroidered over the shrine, and thus keep its gems and its gilding from dust and tarnish.[88] All about (413) the lower part or stone substruction, other palls or cloths of costly texture were hung;[89] and

[87] See p. 293 of this volume.

[88] Pannus sericus exterior, aliusque lineus interior, quorum operimento sepulchrum (S. Cuthberti) contegi consuevit (Reginald, *De Vita S. Cuthberti*, 134). Dum autem inibi (in ecclesia Sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ de Tynemudtha) diutius oraret, elevatis sursum oculis, Sancti (Oswini) scrinium a priori fronte in parte vidit esse detectum pallamque qua tegebatur indecenter et inconposite hinc inde fluctuantem. Indignatus super his quum altario Sancti specialius ministrabat, collectis in se viribus se totum erexit, et annisu quo potuit, scabello impositus, in altare Sancti vix reptando conscendit. Cum autem in altare consisteret . . . utraque manu pallam Sancti Martyris arripuit, manibusque combinatis fortius elevavit, attraxit, ut Sancti scrinium decentius operiret. — *Vita Oswini*, in *Miscel. Biogr.*, Surtees Soc., p. 52. The little altar at one end of the saint's shrine is well marked in the above extract.

[89] Quem pater . . . secum ad tumbam reverendi patris Cuthberti perduxit; cujus manum languidam, dum in panno qui circa feretrum ejus ibi habetur propter pulveris susceptionem pendulus involvisset, contigit, &c.—Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 279. The palls hung about the lower parts of shrines are often shown in illuminated manuscripts: in the beautiful codex belonging to the Public Library, Cambridge (Ee. 3, 59), the pall hanging below the golden shrine, and falling down so as to cover the stone work, is embroidered with lions, fol. 69. [See picture over leaf.]

sometimes, by means of iron rods, silken curtains were drawn quite round the shrine, so as entirely to muffle it, or, tent-like, hedge in a narrow space about the spot whereon it stood.[90]

Lights about Shrines

might always be found in greater or less quantity, burning day and night. For holding them were used sometimes broad silver basins, glistening

[90] In the Durham shrine-keeper's accompts there is an item "for rings for the curtains (riddyls) ij*d.*"—Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 161. Such a curtained enclosure is shown in the illumination from which our picture, p. 321, is taken.

with crystal ornaments, and hanging down in a row from a small thin gilt iron perch or rod;[91] at other times, (414) tall candlesticks standing on the ground; or sockets fastened one at each of the shrine's four corners. In number, these lights always varied according to the more solemn parts of the daily service,[92] and the higher or lower rank of each occurring festival. To find them, money, land, or a certain yearly weight (415) of wax, was often bequeathed by pious individuals.[93] But another and peculiar kind of light, unknown

[91] Fecit (Hugo episcopus Dunelmensis) etiam in ecclesia coram altari tria ex argento baccilia, cum unciis suis argenteis, cristallis mixtim insertis, dependi, in quibus lumina die noctuque perpetuo ardentia, ob venerationem sancti patris Cuthberti et reliquiarum, lucerent.—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, ed. Raine, p. 11.

[92] Among the conditions under which the monks of Durham were allowed by Henry VI. to have the church of Hemminburgh, Yorkshire, one was to provide: Sex cereos ardentes omni die dominica et in singulis festis Apostolorum et aliis festis principalibus quamdiu Missæ ad summum altare, ac matutinæ et aliæ horæ canonicæ in eadem ecclesia Dunelmensi celebrarentur. De quibus quidem cereis, duo magni ponderis cujuslibet viginti librarum, et duo minores cerei competentis formæ et ponderis forent, qui juxta magnum altare ante feretrum confessoris prædicti (S. Cuthberti); residuique duo cerei congrui et decentis ponderis, ante vexillum ejusdem confessoris in eadem ecclesia decenter ponerentur, invenirent imperpetuum.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1375. Of the several yearly expenses with which the monastery of Bury was charged, one was: iiij tapers burning about St. Edmund's shrine.—*Valor. Eccles.*, iii. 462. These four tapers are shown burning, one at each corner of the shrine, in our illustration, p. 321.

[93] The churches of Rounton and Dinsdale were given to the monks of Durham by one of the lords of Dinsdale, to maintain lamps burning around the body of St. Cuthbert. Wimark Papedi gave the rent of two houses in Norham; Eustace de Fenwick gave a yearly pound of wax; and Robert Fitz Roger, baron of Warkworth, gave xx*s.* per annum, from his mills, for the same purpose.—Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 95.

for such an use in these days, was often to be seen burning there. The sick, or the sorrowful, who knelt asking the saint, that along with themselves, he, as a friend, would beseech of God to hear their prayers for health or happiness; as well as those who dwelling far away had been healed or lightened of their sadness, and whose first steps from bed and home were bent thither to make their thanksgiving, almost always brought with them, if they could afford no other offering, at least a tiny wax taper.[94] The tradesman, too, when he made a mercantile venture on sea, before the ship laden with his goods might set sail, went to the shrine of his hallowed patron, and, as he offered at it his lighted candle, begged that saint to look down from above upon his vessel, and have both seamen and the freight in his holy keeping.[95] This kind of (416) taper was called a "trindle." By such a name we are to understand a roll or string of thin wax taper, several yards in length, and wound up into a flat coil of many rounds.

[94] The candle which a poor old man is told to offer at St. Godric's tomb in Finchale church, is "in modum virgulæ facta."—*Vita S. Godrici*, ed. Stevenson, p. 402.

[95] Institor quidam Novi Castelli municeps . . . beatum regem et martyrem Oswinum affectuose diligebat. In omnibus agendis de gloriosi martyris adjutorio præsumens erat prospere agens. Hic navem aliquando, variis mercibus onustam, ad Anglos Australes dirigere disponens, prius more solito Sanctum martyrem adiit; et ejus præsidio se suaque commendans, candelam non modicam orbiculatim involutam sacris altaribus accensam optulit.—*Vita Oswini*, in *Miscel. Biogr.*, p. 42.

This they lighted, and put either at the shrine's foot, or on the little altar at its western end, while they stayed praying there; and afterwards left it, together with their other offerings to the saint.[96]

But if very often for devotion's sake, sometimes at least out of need, were these and other kinds of tapers taken to the house of God, since there prevailed

The Practice of Watching, the Whole Night, at Shrines.

(417) With a strong hope that the Almighty would vouchsafe to show forth His kindness to men below, by healing them at the intercession of His saints who dwell along with Him above, as well as to quicken their own and their accompanying friends' earnestness in crying unto Heaven, the sick often had themselves carried to church, and laid immediately beneath, or at least hard by, the shrine of a saint. There, if too weak to pray a length of time together,

[96] While we learn from Reginald of Durham, how such coiled-up wax-taper used to be brought for burning before the shrine of St. Cuthberht, the same monk tells us that it was "candela multo sæpius plicamine involuta": on one occasion it was found "sexaginta sex plicaturas obvolubiles in uno corpore habuisse."—*De Admir. S. Cuthberti Virtut.*, p. 134. Of the trindle we have already spoken in this volume, p. 194; and the manner of its employment, as well as the shape it took from being coiled, may be seen in our next picture.

they slumbered the while their kinsfolks and neighbours, who had come with them, spent the hours, from sunset till dawn, sleepless and kneeling at prayer in their behalf. To honour those relics, and to cheer the gloomy darkness, they brought a goodly number of wax candles,

which, though not always, yet generally, were made as long as the sick one's height of stature, and twisted in the trindle-form:[97] all this is well illustrated by our picture.

(418) Besides, however, the old, the crippled,

[97] Delata est ad sancti regis (Edwardi Confessoris) sepulchrum mulier infelix, accensoque ad ejus mensuram cereo, domina ejus vigiliis et orationibus insistebat (Aelred, *De Vita et Mirac. Edwardi Conf.*, ed. Twysden, i. 410) [*P.L.*, cxcv. 784]. The form of the trindle may be seen in the picture above. For the accommodation of the sick and others who might come and pray at the shrine, matting used to be spread all about it: describing St. Wulstan's tomb in Worcester Cathedral, William of Malmesbury thus tells us of the mat that was there: Natta qua orantes accubitari solebant ante mausoleum.—*De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum*, lib. iv., § 149 [*R.S.*, lii. 289].

and the ailing, there were among the youthful, the healthy, (419) and the strong, those who, on occasions, kept such night-watch. The bold young warrior, before he went to throw down to his foeman the wager of battle in the lists, would sometimes walk all the way from home barefoot, though it were the depth of winter, unto his patron's shrine; and staying there from eve till morning in supplication, ask that saint to befriend him with his prayers to God for the happy issue of the coming fight.[98] All our young nobles, from the king's son downwards, went on the eve of their being dubbed, and held their wake in church, often at the foot of some shrine, praying there until peep of day, and watching that (420) sword—that armour with which, after a blessing upon it at the solemn high mass on the morrow, these youths were to be girt, as from their prince they received the belt of knighthood.[99] The men whose

[98] Facta est contentio valida inter nobiliores natu de possessione ditissima quam utrique alterutrim calumniabantur ad sui juris spectare territoria; cujus queremoniæ lite contestata definitum est ab judicibus se mediatim interponentibus, ut duellione facta, hujus discriminis investigaretur injuria. Quorum alter Deo devotus in regione quæ dicitur Cliveland conversatus, juvenis quidam nobilis et militaris, sed devoto corde, religiosæ fidei amicus confamiliaris, relicta domo propria cum familia, nudis pedibus hiemalibus temporibus profectus est invisurus beati Cuthberti limina sacratiora, ubi ad tanti patris tumbam totam noctem duxit insomnem, orationum tamen instantia ac suavitate solennem.—Reginald, *De Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 346. Quidam alius . . . qui apud Novum Castellum dimicaturus erat . . . nocte sequenti cum in ecclesia de more vigilaret, tali visione est commonitus. Soporatus enim modicum, vidit se in loco certaminis positum, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 348.

[99] Ipsa quoque nocte in Templo prædicti tirones . . . suas vigilias

(421) names to English ears mean bravery—those lion-hearts who fought and won at Cressy, and Poitiers, and Agincourt, did so. Other people again—and they were not a few—without any of this world's stirring haps before them, would often spend the night at their favourite saint's shrine out of pure love and devotion towards him.[1]

As it still does, and ever will do, the prayer of

faciebant. Sed princeps Walliæ, præcepto regis [patris sui] (Edwardi I.) cum præcelsis tironibus fecit vigilias suas in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi. Ibi autem tantus clangor tubarum et tubicinum, et exaltatio vocum præ gaudio [extiterat] clamantium, quod conventus de choro ad chorum non audiretur jubilatio. Die autem crastina cinxit rex filium suum baltheo militari in palatio suo. . . . Princeps igitur factus miles perrexit in ecclesiam Westmonasterii, ut consocios suos militari gloria pariter venustaret. Porro tanta erat ibi pressura gentium ante magnum altare quod duo milites morerentur (Matt. Westmon, p. 454) [*R.S.*, xcv. iii. 131, 132]. Of this rite, as it was followed by the Anglo-Saxon as well as our old English chivalry, we have spoken before (vol. i. p. 159). Besides others who have told us its symbolical meaning, Chaucer makes the parson say:—Certes, the swerd, that men yeven first to a knight whan he is newe dubbed, signifyeth, that he sholde deffenden holy chirche, and nat robben it ne pilen it: and who so dooth, is traitour to Crist (*The Persones Tale*, § 67) [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, p. 703]. The Salisbury Manual gives the form of blessing the new knight's sword; and from this service we learn that whilst the priest was saying the last prayer over the weapon, a rubric told him to gird it on the young soldier with these words: Deus . . . hunc ensem, quem invocatione tui sanctissimi nominis benedicimus: bene ✠ dicere dignare, ut famulus tuus . . . sic eo utatur (*Hic succingat Sacerdos militem cum ense*) quatinus et hostes ecclesie insidiantes reprimat, &c. *Benedictio ensis novi militis*, &c.—*Manuale Sarum*, Morin, fol. lxi^{v}. [See *York Manual* (Surt. Soc.), p. 28*.]

[1] Erat eidam Sancto devotus vir quidam, qui cum accensa candela pernox ad Beati Cuthberti sepulcrum evigilaverat. Mane vero facto, domum rediturus, secus latus sacri sepulcri quod candelæ superfuit collocavit.—Reginald, *De Admir. S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 134.

faith often saved the sick man, and the Lord raised him up again. Many and wonderful were

The Cures Wrought at the Shrines of the Saints

by the goodness of Heaven. A healing virtue went out, at Christ's behest, from the hem of His own garment—from Peter's shadow, as that apostle walked the streets of Jerusalem—from the handkerchiefs and aprons which had touched the living body of St. Paul: by the will of the same Almighty Being, the dust swept from off the tomb of a St. Erkenwald, and of God's other holy servants in this land, afforded health to the sick, as they took it (422) mingled in their drink.[2] Often, too, has the fond mother had her wailings turned to a song of gladness: running to church with the dead body of the darling child that water, or fire, or some sad mishap, had just snatched out of this life, she stretched its little corpse before the shrine, weeping and praying over it. Along with her, and for her, prayed that saint to God; and God heard and granted their united supplication. The mother beheld her offspring born once more to her, as she heard it breathe and speak, and saw it arise and

[2] Multa miracula claruerunt . . . pulveris de ligno in quo sanctus (Erkenwaldus) jacuerat aspersura. Quidam vero Deo devotus collectum pulverem statim ut cum aqua infirmo tradidit, ipse infirmitate omnino evasit.—Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* [Horstman, i. 397].

walk, and live again, at the intercession of a St. William of York, or some of the other saints of England.[3] Among those relics, however, which God deigned (423) to employ for the magnifying of His own name, few, if any, seem to have been so wonderful, for the time, as what was called

The Canterbury Water.

Hardly had western Christendom uttered her first loud shriek of loathing at the wickedness of those whose hands had smitten to the death St. Thomas a Becket, when her sorrowings at the loss of such a great good man and truly patriotic bishop[4] were soothed, and her heart became gladdened by certain tidings which spread themselves on all sides. Far and wide in this and other lands, the lips of thousands told of astounding and daily miracles

[3] Quærunt coronatorem ut officium suum sicut moris est circa submersos in aqua, circa puellam mortuam exerceret. Unus autem assistentium ab aliis excitatus, ad honorem S. Willielmi unum denarium super corpus puellæ plicare cœpit ut S. Willielmus sacris suis precibus matris mœstitiæ mederetur. Mater etiam ipsa, ex hoc concepta spe de adjutorio S. Willielmi, accepta filia sua inter brachia, ipsam ad feretrum S. Willielmi cœpit celeriter deportare. Et factum est, Domini adjuvante clementia . . . cœpit puella se movere et viva veraciter apparere, &c.—*Acta S. Willielmi Archiep. Eboracensis*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 145.

[4] Our St. Thomas was the first Englishman of Anglo-Saxon blood who sat on the primatial chair of Canterbury after the coming hither of the Normans. Whilst he withstood, as he ought, the inroads of the crown upon the Church's rights, he was the first bishop to come forwards and be, as it were, the English people's spokesman against the feudal overbearings and the mill-stone oppression of the Anglo-Norman dynasty.

wrought by Heaven at the grave of the new martyr, and through the martyr's intercession. Even to the smallest trace, every speck of the blood which had oozed from the holy archbishop's wounds upon the stones at the spot where he fell, was wiped off with the utmost care by the clergy of the cathedral, and kept there as a relic. Only a week or two had fled (424) when it became an earnest wish with some sick folks to have but the merest drop of this blood to swallow, by way of medicine. To satisfy these cravings, so as to hinder an uneasy feeling at the thought of tasting human blood, a tiny drop was mingled with a chalice-full of water, and in this manner given to those who begged a sip.[5] This was the far-famed "Canterbury water." Never had such a thing as drinking a martyr's blood been done before; never has it been done since.[6] Crowds

[5] Veniens (Etheldritha) ergo ad monachum mausolei (St. Thomæ) custodem martyris cruore se potari poposcit. Miscuit ei monachus, ut cæteris solebat, ne sapor aut color sanguineus bibenti horrorem incuteret. Exhausto itaque quod erat in calice, redit mulieri color nativus, vigor pristinus reparatur.—Benedict of Peterborough, *De Mirac. S. Thomæ*, i. 22 [*R.S.*, lxvii. ii. 54]. This mixture of the martyr's blood with water, the people called "St. Thomas's water," and "Canterbury water": Sic enim eam circumfusæ regionis populus appellat, videlicet aquam "sancti Thomæ" vel "aquam Cantuariensem."—*Ibid.*, ii. 18 [*R.S.*, p. 68]. Quippe in brevi multiplicata sunt valde miracula martyris fama longe lateque vulgata, et aqua illa cum sanguine per omnes Angliæ regiones deportata.—*Ibid.*, iii. 18 [*R.S.*, p. 130].

[6] Venit (Willelmus presbyter Londinensis) itaque Cantuariam, et ad tumbam sancti martyris (Thomæ), impetrata licentia, pernox in oratione vigilavit. Datur ei sanguinis gutta, quam postulat; insuper et potus aquæ stilla simili sanctificatæ impenditur: quod proculdubio voluntate divina receptum est et usque in præsentem diem frequentatum; qui enim dixit; "Perfectus autem

(425) hurried off from the ends of the kingdom to Canterbury, at the hearing of the miracles wrought on those who had partaken of this drink. All eagerly besought to have some of it given them for carrying home as a relic and a medicine. The vessels which the people at first brought for this purpose, were of wood; but the water almost always split them in two, after an extraordinary way, and many were those fragments hung up about the martyr's tomb in token of this wonder.[7] At last a young man bethought himself of making a mould and casting (426) ampuls or small bottles, of lead and pewter.[8] Within these little cruses it was soon

omnis erit, si sit sicut magister ejus," sicut beatum Thomam in vita et passione perfectissimum sui fecit imitatorem, ita ei et post mortem sui similitudinem admiranda perfectione concedere voluit, ut quemadmodum Christi sanguis cum aqua transit ad vegetationem animarum, ita et servi sui sanguis cum aqua bibitus transeat in sanitatem corporum. Nec credimus aliquem hactenus extitisse, cui Deus hanc similitudinis prærogativam concesserit; solius enim sancti hujus cruor et Domini in universo mundo hauriri legitur. Quod tamen non absque magno timore inceptum est; verum viso quia proveniret infirmis inde profectus, cedente timore paulatim accessit securitas.—*Ibid.*, i. 12 [*R.S.*, pp. 42, 43].

[7] Aquæ Cantuariensis virtus longe lateque innotuit, et ad aquam jam tota confluebat provincia. — *Ibid.*, i. 19 [*R.S.*, p. 69]. Hauriebant autem omnes in gaudio aquas de fonte nostro salutari, domumque secum in vasis ligneis fictilibusve reportabant.—*Ibid.*, iii. 19 [*R.S.*, p. 131]. Erant jam ex aquæ contactu vasa multa valde confracta, et in pariete in signum suspensa.—*Ibid.*, iii. 21 [*R.S.*, p. 133].

[8] Incidit in cor juvenis ut faceret ampullas plumbeas et stagneas opere fusoris, et cessavit confractionis miraculum; et cognovimus fuisse in voluntate Divina, ut portarentur Cantuariensis medici ampullæ per totum orbem terrarum, et signum ejus in peregrinis suis et in curatis suis mundus universus cognosceret.

found that "the water" might be carried without bursting them. Thus was the hallowed liquor borne all over England, as well as unto the farthest bounds of Christendom; and God, who made His apostle's shadow give health to the bed-ridden and the sick on whom it fell, also let His martyred Thomas's blood lend a healing strength to the water along with which it was mixed. The name of Christ was magnified among the nations of the earth, through the wonders He wrought by the relics of a faithful servant. Then was it that the Canterbury pilgrimage began. Those who went thither were wishful to take away with them some, however small the quantity, of this water, both for the healing of the sick at home, (427) and to enrich their parish church with such a precious relic. The little wooden pyxes into which the "Canterbury water" was at first poured, these pilgrims used to carry hidden beneath the folds of their dress.[9] With the small leaden flasks they did

Priora enim vasa sub vestimentis suis ferebant abscondita, ampullas autem in propatulo a collo suspensas.—*Ibid.*, iii. 22 [*R.S.*, pp. 134, 135]. Those numerous shrine-like little boxes beautifully enamelled, and figured—sometimes very inaccurately—with St. Thomas's martyrdom, were, no doubt, made to hold either one of the ampuls of the Canterbury water, or some of the dust swept from off the saint's shrine.

[9] Sed et mortui plures per Angliam sunt resuscitati, infusa in eorum ora aqua beati Thomæ sanguine mixta, quam in fialis stanneis ad peregrinationis suæ signum, et infirmorum suorum remedium, fideles Christi ad pectora sua dependentem inde reportant, et in ecclesiis suis pro reliquiis sanctis suspendunt, nutu quodam divino, ut ubique gentium beati Thomæ martyris gloria

otherwise: these they hung by a thong about their necks, in such a way that all the world might behold the ampul resting outside, by way of public thanksgiving unto Christ, and of honour towards St. Thomas, upon the breast-part of their garments. Almost at the moment of being brought into use this little ampul won for itself no common celebrity. By the whole country's will, uttered as it were among all men at the self-same moment, without any foregoing understanding as to its adoption, this small leaden flask or ampul hanging upon the breast by a string from around the wearer's neck, became a new sort of pilgrim's badge, and was set apart as the especial token that such as bore it had been to Canterbury, and were bringing hence some of the water hallowed by the blood of our glorious (428) English primate.[10] Some of these curious badges have been found lately, but hitherto their purpose has been a puzzle to

inferatur, &c.—Will. Fitz-Stephen, *Vita S. Thomæ*, ed. Giles, i. 312 [*R.S.*, lxvii. iii. 152].

[10] Hoc profecto vas est quod absque omni concione celebrata, non congregatione coadunata, nec etiam conventiculo, nullo promulgato edicto, nec ullo etiam arctatus præcepto, sed solo, nec dubium Spiritus Sancti instinctu, mundus sicut unanimiter et communiter ad martyris gloriam et in peregrinationis suæ signum quasi se insignivit. Hoc videlicet est vas illud plumbeum gestatorium quo specialiter beati martyris peregrini se signant. In quo aqua continetur et sanguis, aqua videlicet ex tactu sanguinis sanctificata per sanguinem.—Herbert of Boseham, *Liber Melorum*, ii. [*P.L.*, cxc. 1326]. Non unus sed simul omnes, omnibus subito ab universo ecclesiarum orbe in peregrinationis suæ signum hoc consimile bajulantibus.—*Ibid.* [1337].

our antiquaries. The shape of these ampuls was flat, thin, and purse-like, with mouth and lips which might have easily been, by a mere squeeze from finger and thumb, shut up so tight as not to let any of the water run out. At top it had

Size of the original, which is of lead, and now in the Museum of Antiquities, York.

two loops for hanging it round the neck by a ribbon. Both sides were wrought with raised work: on one was shown the shrine; on the other, which we give in our woodcut, the figure of the saint himself arrayed in his pontificals. The gift (429) of leech-craft which the Almighty had bestowed upon His martyr, the ampul itself

recorded in those quaint leonine rhymes written round its rim :—

> "Optimus egrorum
> Medicus fit Thoma bonorum."

Though, from being mingled with a martyr's blood, it was unique in its kind both here and elsewhere throughout the Church in all ages, still, the "Canterbury water" was not the only relic-water known to England. At every translation of a saint's relics, the bones, or, if found entire, the whole body, was washed, and although the water might have been, on some occasions, poured down the sacrarium or piscina, oftener was it kept as a relic, and employed at need as a healing remedy. (430) Moreover, when any wide-spreading disease befell this land, and took off men, or the beasts of the field, our bishops would send forth orders that the relics in every church should be steeped in holy water, which was afterwards to be sprinkled upon the sick, or given to them to be drunk as a medicine.[11] Hence it happened that there was also the "Durham water," so named because in it had been washed St. Cuthberht's body. Like that from Kent, this northern water used to be put

[11] Cum pestis magna in Anglia invalesceret, et strages maxima populi per loca fieret, habito communi consilio provisum est ut quilibet episcopus reliquias sue deferret ecclesie in aqua benedicta balneandas ut aspersione aque sive potatione plebi divina gratia subveniret.—Capgrave, *Nov. Legend. Anglie* [Horstman, i. 262].

into and carried about in ampuls wrought on purpose for holding this liquid.[12] Whenever any one fell ill, the neighbour who had a relic would always lend it for the sick one's cure. Were it but a shred from (431) the raiment of some illustrious saint, or the little drinking-cup which had belonged to some holy man or woman, neither the one nor the other of such precious treasures was forgotten in this instance. The water held in a bowl that once was St. Edith's, in which a scrap of cloth worn for a while by St. Cuthberht had been soaked, brought back health and strength to the dying clerk who drank it.[13]

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[12] St. Cuthbert's water used to be carried about in these little vessels called ampuls, as we learn from Reginald the Durham monk, who tells us of a cure wrought by this water: Aquam in qua ecclesiæ ipsius (Dunelmensis) sanctorum membra lota fuerant ei in ampulla tradidit, et beato Cuthberto eas (?) commendans in ore insanientis infundere jussit. Mox ergo, ut domum subiturus intravit . . . energuminus clamare cœpit . . . Eia! hæccine de Dunelmo aquas Cuthberti detulisti?—Reginald, *De Admirand. B. Cuthberti Virtutibus*, 35.

[13] Pannum de indumentis Sancti Cuthberti sub dicione sua, cum cæteris sacrorum reliquiis, possidens, minutissimam portionis particulam de panno ipso præcidit, et sororibus suis sanctimonialibus . . . portionem ipsam pro multa devotione transmisit. Quæ cum maximæ devotionis reverentia tantæ sanctitatis pignora susceperunt, et cum cæteris quas habuere reliquiis honorificentissime condiderunt. . . . Contigit ut quidam Rodbertus clericus gravissima ægritudine languorem sortiret. . . . Sumpta igitur modica illa portionis particula de Beati Cuthberti reliquiis, dilutis aquarum fluentis, ei antidotum præparare destinaverant pocionis. Cyphum itaque Sanctæ Ædithæ quondam reginæ attulerunt, et aquis in cypho immissis, nudatam panni Sancti Cuthberti particulam in ipsis laticibus dimergendo diluere decreverunt. . . . Quæ aquas ipsas prædicto juveni propinando porrigunt . . . nec

Like Canterbury, known far and wide by its (432) ampul, several other distinguished places of pilgrimage had each its own peculiar badge, which was worn along with the rest of the

Pilgrim's Weeds.

During the Middle Ages, the wayfarer of the yeoman and the under classes of society, whether he wandered forth for business, pleasure, or devotion, any length from home, usually arrayed himself in a loose frock—a hood with a cape —a low-crowned wide-brimmed hat, to which were fastened two long strings for tying it, in wet or windy weather, under the chin, or when not worn on the head, to cast it hanging behind between the shoulders.[14] (433) In his hand he

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mora; se melius habuisse præsenserat, et infra tempus triduanum se sanitate pristina reparatum veridica attestatione pandebat (Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virt.*, 212, 213, &c.). Other like instances are given of the "aqua reliquiarum," by Reginald, as at pp. 218, 220, of the same most valuable and highly curious work.

[14] Such a sort of hat is seen upon several figures in the illuminations of a psalter once John de Grandison's, but now mine. The strings end each with a large tassel, and they run through as large a button which could be slipped up or down as needed. In the Flight into Egypt, St. Joseph is figured wearing his hat, which is of this kind, upon his head; the beggar-man or pilgrim to whom King Edward the Confessor is giving his ring, has a hat slung behind between the shoulders. A remembrance of this mediæval hat, with its tasseled strings, is still kept up in the hat worn by ecclesiastics on some occasions, particularly during those functions which require them to ride on horseback. For all churchmen whomsoever, the shape of this hat is the same; but its colour, and the number of tassels upon its two strings, vary with the rank of

carried a staff, which, during a period, consisted not of one but two sticks swathed tightly together by a withy band;[15] slung by a (434) narrow belt across his breast, he bore on one side his scrip or little wallet.[16]

A pilgrimage then, as it is yet, was looked at as a work of prayer and humiliation. Sometimes the

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the wearer. A cardinal's is scarlet, with five rows of tasseled knots upon each string; a bishop's is green, with four such rows; a prothonotary's or a prelate's, purple, with but three rows of these tassels. This distinction of the rows of tassels seems to be the invention of the last two centuries, as it is not to be found on monuments of an earlier date.

[15] In the above-named illuminated codex, the beggar-man, as well as a wayfarer, at the head of the psalm *Dixi, custodiam vias meas, &c.*, are both figured as walking with such a staff or "bourdon," which seems to be noticed, in the verses given further on in the text, as borne by all pilgrims. When the grave, in Hereford Cathedral, of Bishop Mayew (who died A.D. 1516) was opened a few years ago, there was found lying at the bishop's side, a common rough hazel wand, between four and five feet long, and about as thick as one's finger. With this lay a mussel and a few oyster shells. Besides the above-named instance, four others had been previously brought to light in the same church, of such hardly trimmed and smoothened hazel sticks having been buried alongside ecclesiastics. That members of the Hereford chapter sometimes went on pilgrimage abroad is shown by the allowance given them, as appears from the chapter documents, while away. The likelihood is that every one, whether lay or clerical, who went, in his lifetime, as a pilgrim to one or other of the celebrated shrines beyond sea, had, when he died, the badges of such far pilgrimage laid beside him on his bier when carried to church for the burial service; and these badges were left upon him in the grave.

[16] Such a scrip or wallet was a part of the attire of all travellers: in my psalter, the two men, as well as our Lord breaking bread before them at Emmaus, are all three, though sitting down to table, figured each with his scrip slung about the neck. In changing dress with the palmer, from him

"Horn toc bordoun and scrippe."

—*The Geste of Kyng Horn*, in Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, ii. 135.

Church laid it upon the sinner as a penance;[17] sometimes it was self-chosen by people, amid sorrows and mishap, as the means of stopping the further wrath of God. In either of the last two cases, those who undertook it, left their hair and beard unshorn, wore no linen,[18] walked barefoot, and begged their bread upon the road. Our old (435) poets often hint at this: after a knight had been told how all was lost to him but his wife and children, and that

> "Brent byn all thy bowres bolde,
> Many of thy men be slayne,"

then calling to his yokefellow,

> "'Madame,' he sayde, 'do my rede,
> Seke we where Christe was quicke and dead,
> On the mount of Caluary;

[17] The canons enacted under King Edgar say: "It is a deep penitence, that a layman lay aside his weapons and travel far barefoot, and nowhere pass a second night, and fast and watch much, and pray fervently, by day and by night, and willingly undergo fatigue, and be so squalid that iron come not on hair, nor on nail."—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws of England*, ii. 281. What the Anglo-Saxons did, was followed later by the English: John de Burg (A.D. 1385), in his chapter "De penitentia iniungenda," says: Contra acidiam opera laboriosa bona, ut sunt peregrinationes ad loca sancta, &c.—*Pupilla Oculi*, fol. liiij.

[18] Telling the lady what he is ready to do for her sake, the knight, among other things, says:—

> I wyll forsake both lande and lede,
> And become an hermyte in uncouth stede;
> In many a lande to begge my bread,
> To seke where Christ was quicke and dead;
> A staffe I wyll make me of my spere,
> Lynen cloth I shall none were.
> Ever in travayle I shall wende
> Tyll I come to the worldes end.

—*The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, in Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, iii. 151.

Who so that hym serue that dyed on rode,
Eche daye of his lyues fode
Fast and sure shall he be.'
With a sharpe knyfe he share
A crosse vpon his shoulder bare
In story as we saye."

This knight and his family begin their journey to the Holy Land, and

(436) "They bare with them no maner of thynge
That was worth a farthynge,
Cattell, golde, ne fe;
But mekely they asked theyre meate
Where that they myght it gette
For saynct charytie!" [19]

The franklin's door stood wide open, and the updrawn bridge of the lordly stronghold was let down, at the call of the pilgrim, who found in the lower end of every hall a place among the poor, who, like himself, came thither to be fed at dinner time: thus Horn, after changing "wede" with the "palmere," that, under such clothes, he might win his way into the castle,

——— "the wyket puste
That hit open fluste.
. . . .
Horn to halle rakede,
And sette him doun wel lowe
In the beggeres rowe, &c." [20]

To wash the weary pilgrim's feet, and to wait upon him as he eat his evening's meal, was one among

[19] *Syr Isenbras*, in Utterson, *Early Popular Poetry*, i. 83.
[20] *The Geste of Kyng Horn*, in Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, ii. 136.

those works of mercy which the highest in the land often exercised.

Though well-born or wealthy, those who went a (437) pilgrimage usually clad themselves as pilgrims, and therefore wore the poor man's rather than the rich man's garb.[21] Hence happened it that a dress almost the same in its shape and texture as the old-fashioned travelling apparel, came to be adopted as the recognised array of all who went on a pilgrimage, according to strict rule. But upon the person of every returning pilgrim might be seen a token which said whither he had been. Two leaflets from the palm-branch, set cross-wise, marked him for a palmer, or one who had trodden the Holy Land, and had wended as far as Jerusalem, while Sinai was indicated by the St. Catherine's wheel, as the virgin martyr was said to have been buried on that hill-top; a medal stamped with the figures of (438) St. Peter and St. Paul, or the cross keys,[22] or with the

[21] The pilgrim-dress given by Knighton to the palmer Guy of Warwick, who, on his way home from the Holy Land, happening to go through Winchester, there fought and overthrew Colibrond, the huge Dane, in Æthelstan's days, was most likely the garb, if we except the wreath of white roses, worn by pilgrims when the Canon of Leicester wrote, *c.* A.D. 1395. Our Anglo-Saxon warrior and palmer-pilgrim is set before our eyes as being—Virum statura grandem in habitu peregrini indutus nudum pedibus incedentem, capite discoperto, et super caput ejus unum sertum de albis rosis . . . de una selauma alba vestitum . . . fustemque grandem in manu ferentem . . . barbamque prolixam habuit (Henry Knighton, ed. Twysden, ii. 2322) [*R. S.*, xcii. i. 22, 23]. Guy is often called "palmarius" or palmer, by our historian. —*Ibid.*

"vernicle,[23] showed he had visited Rome; the scollop-shell, that he had prayed at the shrine of (439) St. James at Compostella;[24] a leaden ampul, at its first introduction (afterwards it lost such a meaning) told that he had paid his devotions to

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[22] In a letter to the "Archpriest and canons of St. Peter's," at Rome, Innocent III. says:—Dilecti in Domino filii, tam redditum, quem de signis plumbeis sive stagneis apostolorum Petri et Pauli imaginem præferentibus, quibus eorum limina visitantes in augmentum propriæ devotionis et testimonium itineris consummati seipsos insigniunt, prædecessores nostri et nos ipsi percipere consuevimus, quam auctoritatem fundendi ea, vel quibus volueritis fusoribus concedendi, qui vobis tantum de ipsis respondeant, vobis et per vos canonicæ vestræ præsentium auctoritate concedimus.—Innocent III., *Epist.*, i. 536 [*P.L.*, ccxiv. 491]. A friend of mine has one of these Roman pilgrim-badges: it was dug up at Launde Abbey, Leicestershire, not long ago; one side bears the two keys crossed, the other side is plain: it is of copper, and in shape a quatrefoil, measuring in diameter one inch and three-quarters.

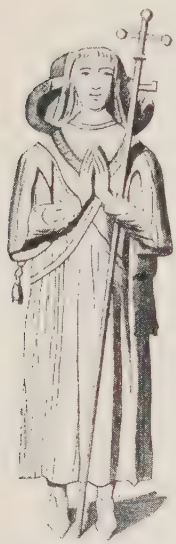
[23] Ostendit (Celestinus papa) regi Franciæ et suis capita apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et veronicam, id est pannum quemdam lineum quem Ihesus Christus vultui suo impressit, in quo pressura illa ita manifeste usque in hodiernum diem apparet, acsi vultus Ihesu Christi ibi esset.—Joh. Bromton, *Chron.*, ed. Twysden, i. 1221. From "veronica" we draw our word "varnicle" or "vernicle:" Chaucer does not forget to tell us how the "Pardonere"

> That streight was comen fro the court of Rome
> . . . . . .
> A vernicle hadde he sowed on his cappe.

— *Works* [Skeat, *Student's Chaucer*, p. 427].

[24] In the verses descriptive of a pilgrim's dress, quoted on p. 364 from *Piers Ploughman*, notice is taken of the "shilles of galys, Compostella being in the province of Gallicia. In the church of Ashby-de-la-Zouch there lies a figure clad as a pilgrim, upon whose large broad-brimmed hat, which hangs slung behind his shoulders, the scollop-shell is marked, and the scrip is well indicated. This effigy must have been made for some personage of the Lancastrian party, as it wears the celebrated collar of esses, an article in the livery which that great house bestowed upon its friends.

St. Thomas's relics at Canterbury.[25] Though now and then an individual may have been seen who carried a short palm-branch bound to his staff, such however was not the palmer's usual badge; but instead, a small cross formed by two short slips of a leaflet from the palm-tree: this cross he sewed either to his hat or upon his cape.[26] After the same fashion were worn those other pilgrim-tokens, with the exception of (440) the Canterbury ampul, which always hung from about the neck upon the breast.[27]



PILGRIM AT ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

(441) For holding our far-sought "Canterbury water" the pilgrimage ampul was first thought of: hence arose the use of several other ampuls for a like purpose. The very dust from about a favourite saint's shrine was by some pilgrims

[25] See note 10, p. 352.

[26] Not every palmer had been to the Holy Land; for sometimes the Pope, in freeing pilgrims who had got as far as Rome, from their vow of going onwards to Jerusalem, allowed them to wear the palm as if they had visited Palestine: Cum autem rex Franciæ Romam venisset, Celestinus papa ipsum et suos cum summo honore et reverentia recepit . . . et pro amore Dei et suo novum fecit remedium peregrinis in hoc quod illum et omnes qui cum eo venerunt a voto et itinere peregrinationis Ierosolomitanæ absolvit . . . et palmas et cruces eis dedit.—Joh. Bromton, *Chron.*, ed. Twysden, i. 1221.

[27] Those few among our antiquaries who have ever spoken about these ampuls, commit, one and all, the same mistake of thinking that such little vessels were worn sewed to the pilgrim's hat. This

looked upon in lack of anything else, and sought after, as a relic: this dust they swept carefully up; and to carry it home, they got ampuls made, the very shape and ornaments of which should tell, at a glance, the shrine whence their contents had been brought. But all these several ampuls, like that of Canterbury, were ever borne, not upon the hat or the cape, but strung about the neck. That dress with which William Langlande clothes the sham pilgrim whom he brings before us, is, no doubt, a truthful sketch after the common

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erroneous opinion, set forth last by a praiseworthy collector and untiring preserver of everything belonging to our national antiquities, Mr. Roach Smith (*Collectanea Antiq.*, ii. 47), would seem to be wholly adopted by a learned writer in the *Archæological Journal*, vii. 400. Not merely, however, from the shape itself of these ampuls, but from the words of those who lived and wrote when the use of these small phials was first brought up, we know that they were worn, not stitched to the hat, but hanging about the neck by a string of some sort (see notes 8, 9, 10, before). What gave rise to this mistake is the faulty punctuation of a passage—quoted below—from *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* [Pass. viii. 164–166, ed. Skeat, p. 130], wherein a comma is thrice set in its wrong place; into such an oversight has been betrayed the last editor of Langland's Poem, Mr. Thomas Wright, notwithstanding that his predecessor in such a task (Dr. Whitaker) had avoided the inaccuracy. The lines, as pointed by Mr. Wright (i. 109), read thus :—

A bolle and a bagge
He bar by his syde,
And hundred of ampulles
On his hat seten,
Signes of Synay, &c.

Dr. Whitaker, however (p. 119) points the same passage thus :—

he bar bẏ hus sẏde
And an hondred hanẏpeles, on hus hatte seten
Signs of Sẏse and shilles, &c.

English model during the fourteenth century, in which our poet lived. This "paynym" was

A-paraild as a paynym·
In pylgrymes wise.
He bar a bordon ybounde·
With a brod lyste,
In a weyth-wynde wyse·
Ywrype al aboute ;
A bolle and a bagge·
(442) He bar by hus syde,
And an hondred hanypeles·
On hus hatte seten
Signes of syse·
And shilles of galys,
And meny crouche on hus cloke·
And keyes of rome,
And þe fernycle by-fore·
For men sholde knowe,
[And se] by hus sygnes·
Wham he souht hadde.[28]

Langlande tells us, in the same place, of the "palmere's pyk and scrippe."

Besides its badge, each pilgrimage had too its own gathering cry, which the pilgrims shouted out as, at the grey of morn, they slowly crept through the town or hamlet where they had slept that night. By calling aloud upon God for help, and begging the intercession above of that saint to whose shrine they were wending, they bade all their fellow-pilgrims to come forth upon their road and begin another day's march.[29] After having said their

[28] *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, Pass. viii. 161–169 [ed. Skeat, p. 130].

[29] Vidi in itinere Sancti Jacobi quemdam suspensum qui antequam suspenderetur, peregrinantes ad pergendum ante auroram

prayers and told their beads, occasionally did they (443) strive and shorten the weary length of the way by song and music. As often as a crowd of pilgrims started together from one place, they seem always to have hired a few singers and one or two musicians to go with them. Just before reaching any town, they drew themselves up into a line, and thus walked through its streets in procession singing and ringing little hand-bells, with a player on the bag-pipes at their head.[30] Not a

in capite cujuslibet villæ provocare assuetus erat. Clamabat namque modo peregrinali, excelsa voce, *Deus adjuva, Sancte Jacobe.* —Calixtus Papa II., *Sermones* [*P.L.*, clxiii. 1390].

[30] By the dreary self-willed Lollards, whatever seemed cheerful in the religious practices of their days—whether it happened to be an organ in church, or a musical instrument at a procession—was blamed; and as other heretics have always done, such usages as those "leud losells" misliked, they misrepresented. Hence the snarling tone in which one W. Thorpe tells Abp. Arundel how "some other pilgrimes will have with them bagge pipes; so that everie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterburie bels, and with the barking out of dogges after them, that they make more noice, then if the king came there away with all his clarions and many other minstrels."—Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* [London 1837, iii. 268].

Amongst our old household words and sayings—amongst our terms for some seasons of the year and its principal festivals, but especially among the names bestowed ages ago upon our native flowers, not a few do we find the meaning of which is bound up with the religious faith and practices followed by Englishmen while England was all Catholic. One of the greatest beauties amid our English wild flowers, the *Campanula latifolia* (not the *medium*, as some mistake) to be found shooting up its stalk of blue bells by the side of many a hedgerow, is an example. Its name of *Canterbury bells*, which it had given it in remembrance of those bells rung by the pilgrims to Canterbury as they went along, keeps on telling us of the belief and pious customs of our Catholic forefathers.

few, however, (444) undertook a pilgrimage by way of penance: these went barefoot, and begged their bread all along their road. A pilgrim of this sort almost always travelled alone, and his little hand-bell stood him in good stead the while he wandered asking alms about the lanes and alleys of every town upon his path. To awaken attention, and draw folks forth to their doors and windows, he first tinkled his bell, and then cried out in a kind of chaunt his call upon their kindness to help him onwards for the love of God, of our Lady St. Mary, of St. Thomas, and other saints. Long years after the overthrow in this land of the true faith, our people, clinging to their olden rites, loved to go on pilgrimages.[31]

(445) With the Anglo-Saxons a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, though undertaken but by few, had ever been a well-beloved act of piety.[32] After their days, besides the devotion itself of such a work, there was born to Christendom another feeling kindred to it—a wish to fight for Christ

[31] A minister of the Establishment, David Powel, writing A.D. 1583, tells us this, after his own Protestant and vituperative fashion:—Loca quædam peregrinationibus assueta in hac evangelii luce usque in hodiernum diem, ingenti peregrinantium multitudine singulis annis superstitiose frequententur: ut fons divæ Venefredæ sacer: fons Dyfnoci in strata cluydensi: fanum Ænæ regis in arvonia: fanum Davidis in Demetia.—Giraldus Camb., *Itiner. Cambriæ*, ed. Pouelo, p. 85. The same thing concerning St. Beuno's church is attested by a writer whose notes are printed in Leland, *Collect.*, ii. 648.

[32] The very short book describing the journey of St. Willibald the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to the Holy Land, is among the earliest works of European travel to the east.

and win the holy places from the paynym—which quickened the footsteps of thousands towards Palestine. Hence began the crusades; and this sort of military pilgrimage, or, as it was called,

TAKING THE CROSS,

found quite as much favour here among our English as it did with the other countries in Europe. Many were the times when in this land a stirring call from the preacher was answered by a crowd of knights and gentlemen who, hurrying up to the altar's foot, asked that the cross might be given them on the spot.[33] This was done by stitching a (446) little cross, made with two shreds of silk or cloth, upon the shoulder of the new votary's garment.[34] If other pilgrims had their peculiar

[33] At one journey taken by Archbishop Baldwin through Wales and the English marches, for preaching the crusade (A.D. 1188) no fewer than three thousand persons took the cross: In hujus itaque legationis longo laudabilique labore, circiter tria virorum millia crucis signaculo sunt insignita, &c.—Giraldus Camb., *Itiner. Cambriæ*, ed. Pouelo, p. 226. Every morning, after the archbishop had said mass, crowds flocked about the altar and had the cross given to them by his hands: Mane vero post missam populo convocato, plurimisque ad crucem allectis, &c.—*Ibid.*, 128. To bishops and priests, the cross was given at the right-hand side of the altar: —In crastino vero missa in principali altari ab archipræsule celebrata, sedis ejusdem (Banchor) antistes . . . a dextris altaris . . . ad crucis susceptionem est compulsus.—*Ibid.*, 191. At other parts of the day they stopped at different towns upon the road, where a sermon was preached, after which the cross was taken by those who wished: Sermone igitur apud Abergevenni facto plurimisque ad crucem conversis, &c.—*Ibid.*, 101.

[34] Crucem suscepit, uxore favente, ipsa quoque signum sponte propriis manibus armo virili inserente vel insuente.—*Itiner. Cam-*

marks, so too had the crusader. For a token of that vow which he had plighted, he always wore a cross sewed to his dress, until he went to, and all the while he stayed in, the Holy Land.[35] If he lived to come (447) back and die at home, his burial

briæ, ed. Pouelo, p. 175. Uno de familia ipsius (Meredythi) cruce signato juvene pervalido eique familiarissimo, quoniam pallium cui crux assui debuerat tenue nimis et vile videbatur, cum uberrimo lachrimarum fonte, suum ei Meredythus pallium projecit.—*Ibid.*, 189.

[35] For the crusade preached through western Christendom (A.D. 1188) it was ordained that the English should wear a white cross; the French, a red; the Flemish, a green one:—Provisum est etiam inter eos, ut omnes de regno Francorum cruces rubeas, de terris regis Anglorum albas, de terra vero comitis Flandrensis cruces virides bajularent.—Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, p. 102 [*R.S.*, xliv., i. 446].

When any one had put off, or was hindered from fulfilling his vow, very often did he in his last illness beg of some friend to take his cross for him (that is, go in his stead) to Jerusalem, to fight against the Saracens, or to pray at our Lord's sepulchre, as it might be: such was Henry II.'s eldest son's request, just before he died, to one of his followers:—Tradidit Willielmo Marescallo familiari suo crucem suam Jerosolimam deferendam (Hoveden, *Annal.*, p. 354, ed. Savile) [*R.S.*, li. ii. 279]. As a recompense to the man who took this journey, lands were not unoften bequeathed to him; thus:—Gaufridus Foliot dedit Briano de Buterle terram de Buterle, pro cruce sua ferenda Jerosolimam (*Placitorum Abbrev. temp. Joh.*). One of the heraldic bearings of the house of Douglas is, to this day, a crowned heart, in remembrance of the dying request of Robert Bruce to have his heart, after he had breathed his last, carried by Sir James Douglas to the Holy Land, whither he himself had wished, but was never able to go (Froissart, *Chron.*, ed. Johnes, i. 27). The Scotch knight got no further than the south of Spain, where he fell fighting against the Moors of Granada. The casket holding the Bruce's heart Douglas carried with him to the battlefield, and there did his men afterwards find it. By them it was taken back again to Scotland and buried at Melrose. British heraldry is full of catholicism: as a bearing, the cross is used in many forms; the scollop-shell, found on many a shield, tells of pilgrimage to St. James of Gallicia, or perhaps of fighting in Spain against the Saracens.

and the knightly effigy over his grave both told of his having been a warrior for Christ. When his dead body, mail-clad and girt with sword, was stretched upon an open (448) bier to be so carried to the tomb by his own followers in the holy wars, a weeping squire's hands—perhaps those same hands which had often borne that knight's pennon uplifted above his head, as singing *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam*,[36] they and those with them dashed among the Saracens —set its legs cross-wise, the right one over the left,[37] and brought down the (449) right arm

[36] As the Templars' rule was the mirror in which each Christian knight loved, while in the Holy Land, to glass himself, it is likely that he as well as they sang this verse of the Psalmist, in rushing upon the Saracens. That the Templars did, we know : Cum autem bellare judicaverit (Templariorum magister) et jussum præcipientis buccina insonuerit, Davidicum illud communiter concinnunt et devote :—"Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam." Ferentes lanceas in hostes irruunt, &c.—Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Hist. Orient.*, lib. iii., ed. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, iii. 277.

[37] By an old and well-known Christian symbolism, the "right" means the good, the holy, the faithful; the "left," the wicked, the sinful, the unbelieving. Innocent III. says: Per dexteram enim justi, per sinistram peccatores figurantur. Propter quod Dominus in judicio statuet quidem oves a dextris, hœdos autem a sinistris.—*De Sacro Altaris Myst.*, ii. 35 [*P.L.*, ccxvii. 820. The reference is to St. Matt. xxv.]. Such a rule applied to the feet as well as hands; and in accordance with this received principle, was it, no doubt, that the movement of the gigantic figure's feet was understood by St. Nicolas the Studite, the while he gazed in vision upon it, to signify the triumph of the Christians over the heathen, or the overthrow of the former by the latter, as he beheld the giant's right foot over the left, or the left over the right: Vide, inquit (gigantea statura albis indutus senex) ad me, nihil metuens. Porro autem dum illi ad vindicandam quisque suam aciem, arma vibrantes instruerentur, dextrum hic pedem elevans sinistro superponit: tum video nostram aciem multa vi adversariorum aciem

athwart the breast, so that its hand might seem to clinch the not quite scabbarded sword by its side.[38] Borne thus into church to within a few

SHRINE OF ST THOMAS CANTELUPE
Provincial Grand Master of the Templars, at Hereford Cathedral

invadentem, eamque totam perrumpentem. Cumque Scythæ penitus interirent essentque necantibus versuri terga; en rursus ille pedem sinistrum elevans supra dextrum deinceps ponit; tumque exurgentes barbari miserabiliter nostros interficiendo urgebant.—*AA. SS. Februarii*, i. 546. If not a few of our cross-legged effigies have the left leg thrown over the right, such a violation of the before-named canon is to be ascribed either to the designer's ignorance, or to some mistake in the execution, by a careless workman, of the original drawing: accidents of this kind—making people use the left instead of the right hand—happen even now every day in engravings.

[38] To think that because an effigy has the legs crossed, and the right hand grasping a sword, it must therefore be that of a knight Templar, is a very great mistake. Of that military order, only the grand-master, or some distinguished individual, received the honour of a sepulchral monument. Even in these instances, the

(450) feet from the high altar, the corpse was put down there beneath a hearse of lights;[39] and

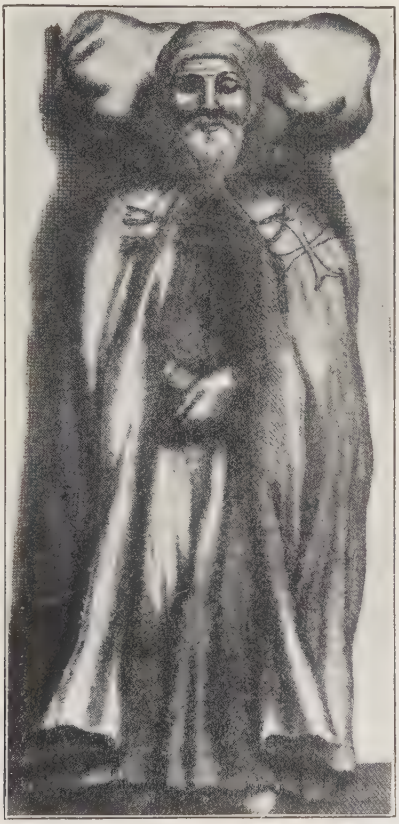

figure was not fashioned like a worldly knight clad in mail, after the usage of the times, but dressed in the habit itself of that religious brotherhood. Whether there be an example now anywhere existing of a real Templar's tomb, I am not aware. Of the Hospitalars' there are specimens; one is given by Dionigi, *Sacrar. Vatic. Basil. Crypt. Monument.*, p. 132; the other by Magri, *Hierolexicon*, v. Crocea [above]. The habit worn by the Templars was, in shape, like that of the Hospitalars, and distinguishable from it by its colours only:—Templum bonos milites habet clamydes albas cum rubea

even-song that afternoon, and at early day on the morrow, matins and lauds, and the commendations, and mass, were all sung for his soul, and doles were given to the poor. This way of laying out the crusader-knight's dead body was to tell what the knight himself had done in the living flesh, and whither his footsteps had taken him, out of love for God: it betokened how that, true to his plighted word, he had gone to Palestine, where he had drawn his sword and fought, and sheathed it only after he had fulfilled his vow. Unto the tomb, on which the effigy shows us a true likeness of the corpse in its (451) posture and raiment the while it lay at church for the burial service, there was added a lion's figure, so put crouched beneath the knight's feet as if they were treading it to the dust. This emblem symbolised that fearlessness with which, as Christ's soldier and by Christ's help, the warrior had fought against the unbeliever and the wicked: it reminded the world of that mystic triumph promised to the just man, unto whom the Holy Ghost has said:—"Thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon." [40]

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cruce simplice . . . ferentes . . . Hospitalarii vero albam crucem portant in clamyde.—Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Hist. Orient.*, ed. Martene, *Thes. Anecdot.*, iii. 276, 277. Hence we may see from Magri's rough engraving that, did we possess a Templar's effigy, we should find it clad in a long sleeved gown girt with a narrow belt, and over this garment, a large wide cloak having a hood, altogether in form like the canon's mantle shown in our woodcut (vol. ii. p. 41), but ornamented with a cross wrought upon the left shoulder.

[39] See vol. ii. p. 399, of this work.

(452) But when the Syrian crusades were given up, and our barons and our knights went to Jerusalem, not for fighting, but praying there, and to lay their swords upon the altar at Christ's tomb,[41] the sepulchral effigies of such among

[40] *Psalm* xc. [xci.] 13. As the lion is an emblem of that bodily strife which the wicked and the unbelieving wage against Christ and His Church, but is to be withstood by bodily prowess and the arm of the flesh, it is usually assigned, on tombs, to knights and laymen; but the dragon or serpent, being the symbol of our ghostly foe the devil, who must be overthrown by ghostly weapons—the sword of the spirit—the word of God—this snaky type of the foul fiend is more generally put under the feet of Churchmen, who, if they be bishops, are thrusting, spear-like, the sharp end of a pastoral staff into its hissing jaws and against its brandished tongue, to signify that truth will vanquish falsehood, and the Church of God cast down the synagogue of Satan. The soldier's feet trampling a lion is an emblem of military valour; the Churchman's tread on the writhing dragon symbolises a Churchman's zeal against sin and untruth. The first of these types may perhaps have been brought into wider use by the Templars' rules, of which, while one forbids the killing of wild animals (Ut nullus feram arcu vel balista percutiat), another immediately following it, enjoins the slaying of the lion everywhere (Ut leo semper feriatur); and for these typical reasons:—Nam est certum, quod vobis specialiter creditum est et debitum, pro fratribus vestris animas ponere, atque incredulos, qui semper Virginis Filio minitantur, de terra delere. De leone enim hoc legimus "quia ipse circuit quærens quem devoret"; et "manus ejus contra omnes omniumque manus contra eum."—*Regula Templariorum*, xlviii., Holsten, *Codex Regularum*, ed. Brockie, ii. 438.

[41] Of the lady's behests to her wooing knight before he may win and wed her, one is that he go to Jerusalem

> To seke where Christe were dead and quycke;
> There must you drawe your swerde of were,
> To the sepulchre ye must it bere,
> And laye it on the stone,
> Amonge the lordes everychone;
> And offre there florences fyve,
> Whyles that ye are man on lyve;
> And offre there florences thre,
> In tokenyng of the trynyte, &c.

—*The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, in Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, iii. 155.

them as had been to the Holy Land were made to tell of their performance of such a vow. For this end were adopted, in part, the olden military signs of that pilgrimage: instead of one hand grasping the sword, both of (453) those hands are clasped as if for prayer; but the legs are still crossed, to say how those feet, like the warriors' of old, had trodden the ground whereon once walked He who, for mankind's sake, died upon the cross.

Those same religious feelings which hurried the knight from home as a military pilgrim to the Holy Land, guided him to war upon the foes of Christ in other countries besides Palestine. To go to Spain and fight there against the Moor, at an early period of the crusades, men took the cross;[42] and, till a very recent time, they kept on doing so to fight anywhere against the Turks. Those who vowed themselves to this latter kind of warfaring pilgrimage, went to church, and kneeling down at the foot of its patron saint's shrine, besought to have the cross given them. With the leave especially obtained from his ecclesiastical superior, the proper official yielded to their wishes, and the ceremony was thus per-

[42] In the Council held at Rome A.D. 1123, it was decreed: Eos autem qui vel pro Ierosolimitano vel pro Hispanico itinere cruces sibi in vestibus posuisse noscuntur et postea dimisisse, cruces iterate assumere et viam instanti Pascha usque ad proximum sequens Pascha perficere apostolica auctoritate præcipimus.—Simeon of Durham., *Hist. de Gest. Reg. Anglor.*, ed. Twysden, i. 249 [*R.S.*, lxxv. ii. 271

formed: each postulant bared his right breast, and there into the naked flesh the priest burned, with a red-hot iron, the sign of the cross.[43] (454) Sometimes was it that the knight, by his own hand, gave himself this token in private, as

> With a sharpe knyfe he share
> A crosse vpon his shoulder bare.[44]

If at the foot of God's altars, or before the relics (455) of God's holy servants it was that religion

[43] Cum dilecti nobis in Christo Johannes Oterik de Gretham et Thomas Jonson de eadem, Dunelmensis dioceseos, conjugati viri utique bonæ famæ et opinionis illesæ, mero motu maturaque deliberacione votum, ut asserunt, emiserunt speciale, se et personas suas adversus Turchos cæterosque hostes et inimicos crucis Jesu Christi pro defensione fidei Christianæ exponere unanimiter, et pro viribus expugnare, prout coram nobis per eosdem plenaria extitit facta fides, &c. . . . nos igitur ipsorum votis et desideriis, tamquam justis licitis et honestis, benigne annuentes, ipsos Johannem et Thomam in ecclesia cathedrali prædicta, vicesimo quarto die mensis Januarii anno Domini millesimo CCCC^mo^ LXIII^mo^ personaliter constitutos, et juxta feretrum sanctissimi confessoris sancti Cuthberti patroni nostri hujusmodi crucis signum eorum pectoribus imprimi debitis cum instanciis ac flexis genibus devocius postulantes, per prædilectum confratrem nostrum dominum W. Bryden elemosinarium domus nostræ signo crucis utriusque eorum pectori in dextera saltem parte ejusdem successive signari fecimus et aduri, in omnibus ut est mos (*Litera Peregrinationis concessa Johanni Oterik, &c.*, in *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, Append., p. cccxlix.). For such a practice, one pilgrim gives this reason: Unde et humero meo dextro candenti ferro signum crucis precor inuri, quod mihi, licet vestes auferantur, auferre nemo prævaleat.—Benedict, *De Mirac. S. Thomæ*, iv. 2 [*R.S.*, lxvii. ii. 175]. In the armoury at Alton Towers, there is a suit of armour of a rather late and foreign make. Upon the right side of the breastplate is engraved the crucifixion. Perhaps abroad the custom was for those who, like our countrymen, had had their flesh itself blazoned with the cross, to bear the same kind of token marked outwardly upon their armour.

[44] *Syr Isenbras*, in Utterson, *Early Popular Poetry*, i. 83.

stretched forth her blessing hand upon the pilgrim warrior, and marked him with the emblem of her Lord, she did not withhold the ritual's countenance from lowlier men, while they also bound themselves to pilgrimages of a more quiet and far less dazzling sort. After an especial way

The Church Blessed the Pilgrim and his Weeds,

in which she arrayed him for his journey, begging the while God's speed upon his path. Having shrived himself of all his sins, the pilgrim came before the altar, where he lay outstretched upon the ground while the priest prayed over him.[45] He then arose upon his knees; a scrip was blessed and slung about his neck, a staff put into his hands.[46] (456) If he wished Jerusalem to be his bourn, he brought along with him to the ceremony a gown upon which had been sewed a cross; and this, like scrip and staff,

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[45] Imprimis confiteantur Peregrini de omnibus peccatis suis; deinde dicantur super eos coram Altari prostratos Psalmi et preces sequentes.—*Ordo ad servitium peregrinorum faciendum* in *Manuale Sarum.* [See *York Manual* (Surt. Soc.), lxiii. 26 *.]

[46] Hic surgant peregrini a prostratione, et benedicat Sacerdos peras et baculos eorum, dicens . . . "Domine Jesu Christe . . . benedicere digneris hanc peram et hunc baculum, ut quicumque eam in tui nominis amore ad instar humilis armaturæ lateri suo applicare atque collo suo suspendere, sive in manibus suis gestare, &c." Hic aspergat aquam benedictam super peras et baculos, et ponat singulis peregrinis peram ad collum . . . deinde tradat singulis eorum baculum, &c.—*Ibid.* [p. 27 *].

was hallowed by the celebrant.[47] The holy sacrifice of the mass was then offered up:[48] this over,[49] and being "houseled" (that is, having received his Saviour in the blessed Eucharist), the (457) pilgrim, with the Church's benediction lighting on his head, and amid the best wishes of his friends and townsfolks, started on his road.[50] As by her ritual the Church speeded the pilgrim's forthgoing, so did she welcome his homeward footsteps: with solemn procession she went to meet him at her threshold, and bring him back to that same altar from which he began his journey; and there she mingled her thanksgivings with his own for a safe re-

[47] Si vero aliqui eorum profecturi sint Hierusalem, tunc habeant ipsi vestes cum cruce signatas; et benedicantur cruces hoc modo, &c.—*Ibid.* Whilst yet a youth, and before taking the hermit's habit, St. Godric had the cross given him by his priest, and went to the Holy Land: Quare et sanctæ signaculum crucis, tradente sacerdote, suscepit, et cum Domino suo tollere crucem suam non refugit, &c.—*Libel. de Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 33.

[48] His finitis dicatur Missa pro iter agentibus.—*Manuale Sarum* [*ut. s.*, p. 28*].

[49] Post Missam dicat Sacerdos has Orationes sequentes super peregrinos coram Altari prostratos, sive profecturi sint Hierusalem, sive ad Sanctum Jacobum sive ad aliam peregrinationem (*ibid.*). Many of our countrymen who went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, took St. James's of Compostella on their way home; thus of St. Godric, we read: Igitur Dominicæ vexillum crucis in humeris deferens, primo Ierosolimam profectus est, atque in regrediendo Beati Jacobi Apostoli limina adiit; exinde vero maternum solum adiens, ad villulam paternam repediavit.—*Libel. de Vita et Mirac. S. Godrici*, p. 34.

[50] Deinde communicentur, et ita recedant in nomine Domini.—*Manuale Sarum* [*ut. s.*, p. 28*].

turn—there did she sing her canticle of joy, the *Te Deum*.[51]

The purpose of many a pilgrimage to churches at home as well as those abroad was, either to beg from God an especial favour; or, when the wish had been answered, to speak loud thanks to Him, at the shrine of that saint who, by praying in behalf (458) of and along with the craver, had helped in winning from above the sought-for blessing. On these occasions an offering in money, however small the sum, was invariably made; and the coins were cast down on the ground before the shrine,[52] or set upon the little altar at its western end. To look after these moneys, and to receive more important gifts,[53] as well as to keep watch

[51] Igitur cum comes Willielmus post votum peregrinationis suæ jam reditum vice prima ad nos dignatus est, processione ordinata, albis et capis induti ei occurrimus, cantantibus omnibus, ore simul et corde dicentibus "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini." Venienti quoque cum omni lætitia ad majus usque altare, et prostrato dedit prior benedictionem. Qua percepta, surgens et genua flectens obtulit reliquias in pixide eburnea preciosissimas quas in terra Hierosolimitana acquisierat. . . . Eo autem surgente et coram altari astante, voce excelsa incipit prior himnum cæteris subsequentibus, "Te Deum laudamus."—*Mon. Angl.*, iv. 144.

[52] The pieces of money offered by King Henry VI. at St. Edmund's shrine are lying on the floor, in our picture, p. 321.

[53] When any man of honour or worshippe weere disposed to make there praiers to God and to Sancte Cuthbert, or to offer any thinge to his sacred shrine, yf they requested to have yt drawen, and to se yt, then streight waie the clarke of the fereture did give intellegence to his maister the kepper of the fereture. And then the said maister dyde bring the keys of the shrine with him, geving them to the clarke to open the locks of the shrine. . . . And when they had maid there praiers, and dyd offer any thing to yt, yf yt weare either gould, sylver, or jewells, streighte-

over the jewels and other costly gifts suspended all about the shrine, and to see that from those many wax-tapers burning everywhere around, no mishap befell the precious palls (459) of gold and silver cloth and other hangings ; the shrine-keeper, or one of his clerks, always sat there ; and he spent his hours in prayer and reading, in writing out and illuminating manuscripts.[54] His seat was, in some places, an open chair with a desk before it ;[55] in others, the stool was inclosed within a shallow nook or box :[56] in both instances there lay upon his reading desk and chained to it, a psalter, perhaps other devotional books.[57] For the pilgrims and other frequenters of the relics, there hung, fastened by little chains to the lower story

way it was honnge on the shrine. And if yt weyre any other thing, as unicorne horne, eliphant tooth, or such like thinge, then yt was howng within the fereture, at the end of the shrine. And when they had maid there praiers, the clarke did let downe the cover therof, and did locke yt at every corner, &c.—*Rites of Durham*, p. 79.

[54] Of one of these under-keepers of St. Cuthberht's shrine, Reginald of Durham tells us :—Ad opus deinde soliti studii jam resederat, et de altari aliquantulum remotius propter luminis usum jam secesserat, eo quod scribendi studium frequentabat.—*De Admir. B. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 200.

[55] As shown in our picture, p. 344.

[56] In the shrine-keeper's accompts at Durham, there are various items from which we gather that in that cathedral, this officer's seat was inclosed (as it is called in English) in a "pentys" or pent-house, and in Latin a "camera."—Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, pp. 142, 147.

[57] The monk at the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, in our picture, p. 344, is sitting before an open book, most likely a psalter : among the things belonging (A.D. 1417) to St. Cuthberht's shrine at Durham, were : One psalter fixed to a desk near the shrine, and one psalter within the chamber at the shrine, &c.—Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 142.

of the shrine, small framed tablets, on which were (460) written, amid beautiful illuminations, prayers to God, and supplications to the saint for his brotherly intercession.[58]

Our forefathers were Christians in the true meaning of that word. Children of Christ's one only Church, Christ was their God, and they were not ashamed of Him. Believing that the Almighty made the earth out of nothing and men out of the earth at His mere will, they believed too that, while He could, He did as often as it liked Him, heal men of the sorest sicknesses—help them in their ghostly trials — lead them scathless through the sea storm, and amidst the bloody fight by land—snatch them from death in its many shapes. Whenever, therefore, themselves, or any one dear to them, had been blessed by Heaven with one or other of these marks of its love, that God's name might be magnified among His creatures, those fathers of ours not only went on a pilgrimage to some church, but left there an abiding token of God's mercy, and their own thankful acknowledgment of it. For both (461)

[58] For writing prayers around the shrine with tablets . xvi*d.*
For parchment and illuminating a tablet . . . ix*d.*
Paid to Sir John Palman, for writing four tablets with prayers concerning St. Cuthbert, and for illuminating the same . . . . . x*d.*

—*Ibid.*, pp. 144, 151, 158. Such tablets, but printed on plain paper, and unadorned with illuminations, are to be seen hanging all about the low railings around the "confession" in St. Peter's at Rome.

these ends, then, the custom was in England, as in other countries of Christendom, to hang up

Votive Offerings at Saints' Shrines.

This custom, which took its rise in the first ages of faith, was, along with the rest of Christ's people, followed by our believing forefathers. While, therefore, we read the description of it from one of our countrymen's pen in the sixteenth century, as it then was and had been always observed in England, we might easily mistake and think that, instead of Harpsfield the last Catholic archdeacon of Canterbury, it must be the Syrian-Greek Theodoret the bishop of Cyrus (A.D. 423), who is speaking. Both of them tell us in what way the faithful of their respective times and places acted when, by God's mercy, they had been brought out of bodily ailment. In order not only to show how the saints above had befriended, by their prayers, a sick or maimed brother on earth, but that others suffering as he had suffered might take heart and pray from his example, the healed person went to church, and hung up there a likeness in gold, silver, or wax, of the eye, the hand, the foot, or that part of the body which had been cured.[59]

[59] Speaking to the heathen of his time, Theodoret, in his eighth sermon, *περὶ τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων τιμῆς*, tells them of the practice of the Christian Church at that period, thus:—*ὅτι δὲ τυγχάνουσι ὥνπερ αἰτοῦσιν οἱ πιστῶς ἐπαγγέλλοντες ἀναφανδὸν μαρτυρεῖ τὰ τούτων ἀναθήματα*

(462) Scattered all through our national records of the Catholic period, may be found highly interesting instances of this practice. The lump of bone-like hardness thrown up from the throat of the invalid whom it had well-nigh stifled, was set in silver, and (463) left to hang upon the shrine of that saint at whose asking, as it was piously thought, God had vouchsafed to work the miracle. There, too, might be seen the spear-top, from the deadly wound of which a knight, while at the wars, had been marvellously healed; and many a glistening brooch or ring told of other mercies from Heaven.[60] The poor captive who,

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τὴν ἰατρείαν δηλοῦντα. οἱ μέν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν, οἱ δὲ ποδῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ χειρῶν προσφέρουσιν ἐκτυπώματα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ χρυσοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὕλης, ἀργύρου πεποιημένα. δέχεται γὰρ ὁ τούτων Δεσπότης καὶ τὰ σμικρά τε καὶ εὔωνα, τῇ τοῦ προσφέροντος δυνάμει τὸ δῶρον μετρῶν. δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα προκείμενα τῶν παθημάτων τὴν λύσιν ἧς ἀνετέθη μνημεῖα παρὰ τῶν ἀρτίων γεγενημένων. [*P.G.*, lxxxiii. 1032.] Though it be more than likely that our English archdeacon never read this passage from the Syro-Greek bishop's works, Theodoret would almost seem to be paraphrased by Harpsfield, who, while describing the religious usages of England in the sixteenth century, writes in these words:—Multi mali sui liberationisque suæ formam et rationem, in cera ad vivum impressam, aut secum detulere Windesoriam, aut per suos transmisere. Alii itaque oculorum, alii pedum, alii manuum, alii aliarum partium et rerum simulachra ad grati animi et liberationis suæ testimonium (cujusmodi et in antiqua, ante mille annos ecclesia factitatum lego) alii ipsos baculos, quibus ante liberationem claudi et debiles innitebantur, imo nonnulli eos ipsos, quibus innixi vix tandem eo perreptarunt, apud sepulchrum beati viri sanitatem repente adepti, alii laqueos a suspendio sancti regis (Henrici VI.) beneficio liberati, in rei memoriam atque monumentum, in templo Windesoriano suspenderunt.—N. Harpsfield, *Hist. Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, p. 595. Such votive offerings are figured hanging at a shrine, in *AA. SS. Junii*, v. 637.

[60] Massam congelatam, tradidit (vir quidam de villa de Weston) F. Willielmo deprecans eum assidue, ut sumptibus suis faceret

just after prayer to Christ for freedom, had on a sudden not only felt his shackles fall loosened from his wrists, but beholding his dungeon door set open by unseen hands, hurried out and flew to the altar of his befriending saint, and left there his fetters as a triumphant gift.[61] (464) The high-born dame, whom a wearisome illness had dragged

argento illam includi, et ad feretrum S. Etheldredæ, ad perpetuam hujus miraculi memoriam dependi.—*Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 580. Assumens itaque caput lanceæ prædictæ (qua confossus est) detulit illud secum in Angliam, et cum venisset ad Elyensem insulam ipse cum fratre suo Radulpho de Hynton ad istam pervenit ecclesiam, et ad feretrum B. Etheldredæ illud obtulit cum summa devotione, ac super paxillum ferreum ibidem ad miraculi hujus memoriam infixit.—*Ibid.* Annulum saphyro nobili ornatum . . . obtulit B. Etheldredæ maxima mentis devotione, ubi feretrum ipsius virginis ostenditur populo veniente, ad honorem Dei et hujus miraculi ostensionem.—*Ibid.*, 581.

[61] Erant apud Novum Castellum rei quidam vinculis irretiti. . . . Pœnituit facti miseros superosque precantur. . . . O Deus! o fortis! o vitæ panis et auctor! erue, solve, leva corpora, vincla, famem. . . . Sequenti enim nocte subito quorumdam vincula solvebantur . . . et abeuntes se ad usque Tynemudtham cum festinatione, &c. Cum ergo fratres ibidem matutinos agerent, hi omnes ecclesiam ingressi sunt; et rem pandentes per ordinem, Deum glorificaverunt, et Martyrem (Oswinum) adorantes, ei sua vincula loco muneris optulerunt; quæ appensa sunt in ejus præsentia ad continuandam ejus memoriam; ut sciant omnes qui convenerint quod hanc virtutem et fortitudinem dedit Sancto suo Oswino benedictus Deus, &c.—*Vita Oswini*, pp. 55, 56. Monstratumque est omni populo et clero de perpetrato miraculo, qui omnes in laudem Dei proruperunt et hymnum psallebant Domino qui facit mirabilia magna per servum suum Joannem (Beverlac.) sæpe clarificatum miraculis. Continuo clericus qui captivus fuerat, jam per beatum confessorem liberatus, obtulit annulos ferreos ad altare; qui suspensi sunt ibi, et multi circuli ferrei, nec non et compedes suspenduntur, scilicet ab utroque latere sepulchri viri Dei Joannis.—*Miracula S. Joannis Beverlacensis*, in *AA. SS. Maji*, ii. 183. Suspensa sunt ejus vincula cum reliquiis captivorum vinculis et compedibus, qui multoties liberati ad Sancti præsentis confugere pacem.—*Ibid.*

almost to the grave, when she got well, cut off that flowing head of hair in which she had taken so much pride, and carried it, with other offerings, to her saint's shrine.[62] All about this (465) same spot might be seen many an effigy in wax: one fashioned as a priest, in alb and chasuble;[63] another, like a knight; a third, some little babe still-born, but afterwards quickened with life by the Almighty at the wailing entreaties of its father and mother, who had besought that it might be given to breathe, at least long enough to be baptized.[64] (466) Waxen lances, too, and swords, along with the representations of those limbs and other parts of the human body pierced by the real iron weapons, stood there as testimonials of a

[62] In devotionis et humilitatis signum et receptæ sanitatis testimonium, comam capitis abscissam martyri (S. Thomæ) offerre non distulit (Iselda filia militis de Burch Henrici de Longa-villa).—Benedict, *De Mirac. S. Thomæ*, iii. 36 [*R.S.*, lxvii. ii. 143].

[63] Dominus W. de London . . . in signum suæ sanitatis destinavit Evesham ymaginem ceræ indutam alba et casula ad modum sacerdotis.—Rishanger, *Chron.*, p. 106.

[64] Mater filium recenter enixa . . . ait: "Domine Deus omnipotens, per merita B. Richardi, redde spiritum vitæ huic abortivo, ut saltem sacri baptismatis unda perfusus, in numero filiorum adoptionis tuæ possit aggregari." Pater vero non minor fiducia eadem replicans, adjunxit votum dicens: "O B. Richarde, si puero isti vitalem spiritum tuis meritis infunderis, ut in Christo renatus baptismum consequatur, puerum cereum ejus imaginem representantem, ad Dei laudem et tui memoriam extollendam, ad tuum sepulchrum una cum puero deportabo." Plicatoque ad voti confirmationem et sancti honorem super puerum denario, ac pueri fronte cruce signata, statim puer os pariter et oculos operiens . . . vivum et incolumem se, mirantibus et Deum in sancto suo Richardo benedicentibus, patenter ostendit.—*Vita et Mirac. S. Richardi Ep. Cicestrensis*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, i. 309. Bending the money was done to know it afterwards as that piece on which the vow had

miraculous cure.[65] Gold (467) and silver were often employed: the hands and feet, and hearts made of those precious metals, told their own tale; as did the little ship brought thither by the seaman who, amid the howlings of a storm, had vowed this silver or golden gift to God if he might bring his vessel safely into haven, or him-

been plighted, and therefore to be given to the church as an offering: Extracto igitur de loculis suis denario, illum Beato Cuthberto in insulam Farneam secum deferendum devovit, et ipso recurvato, ut eum dinoscere possit, tali indicio consignavit.—*Lib. de Vita S. Cuthberti*, 231. Domina Christiana Germaule de Essex, habens puerum ætate quinque annorum; puer iste habuit infirmitatem durissimam usque ad mortem per duas septimanas. Mensuratus ad comitem convaluit. In signum sanitatis fecit deferri puerulum de cera.—Rishanger, *Chron. Mirac. Simonis de Montfort*, 75, 79. In signum sanitatis deferri fecit (Dominus W. de Troy) gambam cum pede de cera apud Evesham per Johannem de Reans armigerum suum.—*Ibid.*, 76: manus de cera.—*Ibid.*, 101.

[65] "Et si de morte imminenti tuis sacris precibus (pie Cuthberte) ereptus fuero (dixit miles quidam) effigiem lanceæ de cera consimilem qua vulneratus existo, ad corpus tuum sanctissimum in honore sancti tui nominis tibi deportabo." . . . Qui contra omnium amicorum suorum spem, ita meritis Sancti Cuthberti convaluit; et sic vitam pro morte de manu pii confessoris procedere experimento cognovit. Unde cera instar lanceæ illius effigiata, cum quibusdam militibus tam consanguineis quam aliis Dunelmum veniens, multis infusus lacrimis, formam illam in humeris gerens, ad sepulchrum venerandi confessoris obtulit.—Reginald, *De Adm. S. Cuthberti Virtut.*, 274. Quidam religiosus de Ordine militiæ Templi habens tibiam unam virtute sensibili ac vitali a multo tempore destitutam . . . devotionem suam ad Sanctum (Willielmum Eborac.) dirigens, de sanitate per ipsum obtinenda spem firmam concepit. Cœpit igitur infirmorum more membra sua languida mensurare, atque ad honorem Sancti luminare præparare, prout fieri assolet ex ipsa mensura, &c. Ipse vero se salvatum sentiens . . . ad honorem et laudem S. Willielmi, et in testimonium miraculi, tibiam ceream et pedem sub sigillo suo, ad feretrum S. Willielmi transmisit.—*Acta S. Willielmi Archiep. Eboracensis*, in *AA. SS. Junii* ii. 145.

self reach the shore alive from the wreck when cast away.[66]

(468) These and all other such votive offerings were in truth so many declarations of the country's belief in the almightiness of God—so many professions that everything in this world hangs upon His will—that as He is able, so does He vouchsafe of His free kindness to work wonders for us, the people of His second covenant, like as He wrought for the Israelites. Because our fathers felt they were living in Christendom, where men could not misunderstand them, they did not halt in making this their belief public. If at the shrines of saints were hung up these outward tokens of an inward faith, it was to say that God working through His saints, and not the saints themselves, had wrought those miracles. The teachers of a new, and till then unheard of, belief did away in England with

[66] *Circa feretrum Sancti Willielmi portabile.* Quinque ymagines argenti deaurati . . . duo corda argentea deaurata . . . una mamilla argenti deaurata . . . una manus argenti deaurata, cum uno sceptro. *Pertinentia tumbæ Domini Richardi le Scrope.* Una virga signata cum litera A, super quam sunt duæ ymagines viri de argento . . . caput viri, cor viri. Duæ ymagines bovis. Decem naves de argento . . . magnum cor hominis cum cathena deaurata, aliud cor minus, et decem naves argenti cum una anchora argenti . . . caput presbyteri . . . una navis magna cum quinque minoribus . . . xxvij remi pro nautis cum una sagitta de argento . . . unus arcus argenti . . . vij legs and foots argenti . . . iv teeth and iv hearts argenti . . . viij eyn and ij hands argenti . . . ij arrow heads of gold . . . viij images and heads . . . St. George on horsback of silver . . . a horse of silver . . . j pap and j gun . . . ij pieces of harneys for horse heads . . . j heart of gold ynameled with white and green, &c.—*Invent. Jocalium Ecc. Cathed. Eboracensis,* in *Mon. Angl.*, viii., 1206.

whatever they thought could bear witness to our olden faith; and the beardless boy Edward VI., saying that he knew better than antiquity fifteen hundred years of age, commanded the clergy "that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages," &c.[67]

(469) MUSIC AT SHRINES

was no uncommon thing. Minstrels used to frequent our larger churches, especially if the tomb of some far-famed saint stood within the hallowed walls. When people came thither to pay their devotions to God, or to bring a gift in thankful acknowledgment of a kindness bestowed from above upon themselves or kinsfolks, these glee-

[67] Wilkins, *Concil.*, iv. 7. The "idolatry and superstition" of these observances are most unfounded accusations; but like Satan, when he wrought the fall in Paradise of our first parents, evil-minded men are never at a loss to give some excuse, though it be of the lamest, as they try and wean the world from the Church's teaching. By headstrong scorners the Church of God from the beginning has been laughed at for its readiness to acknowledge miracles; and through Horace's heathenish gibe,

—— —— credat Judæus Apella
Non ego: —— ——

at such a willingness of belief among the then people of Heaven —the Jews—that same spirit breathes which speaks at this day the Protestants' sneer on a like score against Catholics. The words, however, in which our countrymen choose to announce their unbelief, are rougher and harsher than those uttered by the gentile Roman poet.

men awoke the notes of gladness; and not only played on harp and sytol, rote, sawtry, and ribible, but sang hymns to heaven in praise of the saint whose remains lay enshrined before them.[68]

(470) Another practice was to have

Relics hanging over the Altar, or set to Stand upon it.

In the twelfth century, perhaps earlier, might always have been found, stretching across from the south to the northern wall of the chancel, a thick four-faced rafter of wood, some three feet or so, in small buildings, higher in large ones, above but just behind the eastern side of the high altar. This spar was known as the "beam,"[69] and had

[68] To Walter Luvel, the harper of Chichester, whom the king (Edward I.) found playing the harp before the tomb of St. Richard in the cathedral of Chichester, 6s. 8d. (*Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I.*, quoted by Brayley, *Graphic Illustrator*, p. 89). For these minstrels another favourite haunt were the altars dedicated in honour of the B. V. Mary; and in some of our cathedrals, the noise no less than the importunities of these musicians became such that at last it was found expedient to keep them out altogether. See Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum*, p. 72.

[69] The liturgical student should be warned against the mistake, made by many, of confounding this "beam" with quite another piece of church furniture called the "perch." The "beam" was a heavy rafter let at both its ends into the chancel walls; and serving as it did to uphold the rood, so that the priest all the while he said mass could look up to it, stood to the east of the altar. This beam led in time to the formation of the reredos, which was formed by merely filling up. with stonework or wooden panel, the space between the ground and the beam. The "perch" was a thin metal rod, or a broad lath of wood, let down by a rope from the roof, so as to fall to about twelve feet of the floor, and

given to (471) it as much ornament as carving, gilding, and colours could lend. Upon it, in the middle, arose the crucifix, with our blessed Lady the Virgin at the right, and St. John at the left hand of our Lord. In the same row with these images stood reliquaries made of gold, silver, rock-crystal, or ivory,[70] as well as holy books which once belonged to, or had been written out by, some saint.[71] From fastenings (472) driven into the under face of the beam, hung down by little chains other reliquaries; among which might sometimes be seen horns much prized either for their rarity or beautiful carvings,

far away but before the altar, that is, to the west of it, and not to its east side, behind it, like the beam. When the reredos became general, that piece of timber going between the jambs of the great arch parting the chancel from the nave, and upon which the rood-loft stood, was often called the "rood-beam," sometimes the "candle-beam," from the tapers being stuck there upon their laton branches to burn at the foot of the crucifix or rood.

[70] Contigit tunc temporis magnam trabem que solebat esse ultra altare, sublatam esse, ut nova sculptura repararetur. Contigit et crucem et Mariolam et Johannem, et loculum cum camisia sancti Ædmundi, et philateria cum reliquiis que ab eadem trabe pendere solebant, et alia sanctuaria que super trabem steterant, omnia prius sublata esse; alioquin omnia conbusta essent, ut credimus, sicut pannus depictus conbustus fuit qui in loco trabis pendebat. —Joscelin de Brakelond, *Chron.*, p. 79.

[71] Inter quæ (reliquiarum sanctuaria sanctiora ecclesiæ Dunelmensis) Beati Cuthberti libellus præcipui honoris exstitit . . . solempni quodam tempore festivitatis, accidit ut secretarius, cujus id erat officii, thecam, in qua præscriptus libellus repositus erat, foris exponeret, et Beati Cuthberti altare et sepulchrum sacratioribus reliquiarum sanctuariis perornaret. Inter alia etiam thecam illam decenti venerationis loco composuit, et tam preciosi libelli solamine, ecclesiæ facies honoravit.—Reginald, *De Adm. B. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 198. See also vol. i., pp. 235, 236, of this work, as well as the note following.

and holding within them small fragments of relics.[72] At each great festival of the year, in several of our churches the custom was not only to set out upon this "beam" every precious vessel and jewelled gospel-book,[73] (473) but to overspread the high altar, as soon as the Holy Sacrifice was done, with a splendid pall, and crowd thereon all the richest reliquaries[74] which at other times lay hidden in strong heavy chests,[75] or could be but hardly seen upon their dark shelves athwart the iron gratings of the treasury built for holding them.[76]

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[72] In majori cornu eburneo pendente sub trabe ultra magnum altare continentur, Os de Sancto Blasio, item os de sancto Bartholomeo, &c. [Legg and Hope, *Christ Church Inventories*, p. 93].

[73] Tempore nuper elapso, Hugone episcopante, sollempnitate Paschali etiam instante, ecclesia Beati Cuthberti quam multi decoris ornamentis fuerat expolita, et circum sepulcrum Beati Patris et circuitum altaris, multa sanctarum reliquiarum exposita erant philacteria. Pauper igitur quidam, dum tam variæ supellectilis deaurata vel argento contexta ornamenta vidit exposita, cœpit exuri æstu desiderii, et furandi concupiscentia. . . . Thecam itaque eburneam superius in tabula cum sanctorum scriniis positam, sed seorsum et aliquantulum inferius locatam super omnia præelegit; sed prorsus ad ejus altitudinem brachio deficiente pertingere omnino non potuit. In cathedram itaque episcopalem secus altare positam ascendit, et thecam, sicut destinaverat, sibi in sinu composuit.—Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 165.

[74] Obtulit (A.D. 1245) illico (ecclesiæ de Waverly) pannum satis pretiosum quem assignavit ad superponendum altari, diebus quibus reliquiæ ibidem ponuntur.—*Annales Waverleienses*, ed. Gale, ii. 206 [*R.S.*, xxxvi. ii. 336].

[75] Transcurrentes ad ecclesiam Menevensem, inter reliquias sanctorum in quadam cista, cujus clavem idem episcopus portabat, fracta eadem cista invenerunt (ministri regis) ibidem ducentas marcas, &c.—*Anglia Sac.*, ii. 653.

[76] That most precious little bit of early English architecture in the northern transept of Gloucester seems to me to have been built on purpose as the minster's treasury for relics.

The Salisbury, like the Anglo-Saxon rite, directed that in the public service upon certain days of the year, as well as for some casual occurrences, there should be

The Relics of the Saints Carried in Procession.

How that truly learned man, St. Beda, died, a little after undern-time or tierce-song hour, on the last gang-day, while the brethren of his minster were walking about their fields, as the wont of that tide was, with saints' relics, we have already said.[77] (474) By itself, such a slight glance at this event speaks fully enough on the ritual of that period. For later or English usage, we find how carefully St. Osmund wrote down each festival when and after what manner the relics were to be carried in the procession of the day:[78] what that holy bishop sought to teach by such a rubric, was spoken louder yet, through the ceremonies resorted to by this land on particular occurrences.

In all their woes and dreads, our Catholic countrymen used to call upon God, and cry, as affrighted children to their father, for help. As they showed by all their doings what had been taught them, the belief in a communion of saints

[77] See back in this volume, p. 297, note 28.

[78] See *Use of Sarum*, i. 307.

led our forefathers to the following, among other pious practices. When dearth and starving hunger were foreboded by floods or by a rainless spring and scorching summer sky—when the threatenings of God's wrath unto men were muttered through the bleatings and lowings of dying flocks and herds, then did our people, at the clergy's bidding, gather themselves together, and going forth from their churches, barefoot and fasting, in solemn procession, take along with them, as they sang psalms and the litanies, all about the country the shrines of the saints.[79] In thus striving, (475) by their own supplications unto Heaven, to ward off or stay its wrath, at the same time that they besought each one of the saints above to help them by brotherly remembrance and prayer to Christ, those forefathers of ours asked and hoped to have the more earnest and especial intercession in their behalf of those hallows whose relics they were then carrying for such a purpose, around their fields and towns:

[79] Abbas et conventus Sancti Albani, perpendentes de inundatione pluviarum immoderata (A.D. 1257), tam fœnis quam segetibus suffocationem generalem imminere, prout consuevit in tali fieri periculo, constituerunt in capitulo ut indicto jejunio per archidiaconum, tam in populo quam conventu, cum processione solemni feretrum Sancti Albani ad Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiam, quæ de Pratis dicitur, deportaretur, conventu et populo nudis pedibus subsequentibus cum oratione devotissima. Quo facto, eadem die meritis beati martiris cessavit inundatio tam dampnosa (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora*, p. 642) [*R.S.*, lvii. v. 644, 645]. For another instance of a like custom, see p. 179, note 34.

with the same intention, they carried a shrine on each of their gang-day processions.[80]

(476) Again, too, in their border warfares did they act after the same way. When an inroad from the foe was feared, the bishop would send out his pastoral word unto each nook and corner throughout the diocese, summoning all to hurry to their chieftain's pennons. Readily was such a call answered, and headed by their priests and clergy, with Christ's cross and the banners of their heaven-dwelling patrons uplifted, and those saints' relics solemnly borne along with them, did all those who were young and strong enough in every parish go forth to drive back the daring freebooter, and keep him far away from the beautiful hallowed churches, the homesteads, and firesides of merry England.[81] During this country's internal broils, our own yeomen would send off to the nearest town which held a shrine

[80] In processione annuali rogationum vel letaniarum solet efferri scrinio aureo beati Lethardi corpus opiferum in benedictionem et proventuum agrorum ac plebium.—Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* [Horstman, ii. 148]. The costliness, the ornaments, and the beautiful silk hangings, which fell from both sides of these portable shrines, may be guessed at from the above and following description of them: Unum feretrum ligneum pro rogationibus cum duabus costis de serico et platis argenteis et aymellatis et deauratis cum armis diversorum.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1366.

[81] Sed et Turstinus archiepiscopus per totam diocesim suam edictum episcopale proposuit, ut de singulis parochiis, presbyteris cum cruce et vexillis reliquiisque sanctorum præeuntibus, omnes qui possent ad bella procedere, ad proceres properassent, Ecclesiam Christi contra barbaros defensuri.—Ælred, *Hist. de Bello Standardi*, ed. Twysden, i. 377 [*P.L.*, cxcv. 703].

their stores of food and whatever else they had, that, while any danger lasted, their little all might thus lie under the keeping of the saint. There, too, as the last help against armed soldiers and their unholy might, the shrine was borne out of the church to stop the marauders, and so became (477) the only—often, however, the strong—unpassed wall between them and the wealth of that defenceless town which they had come to pillage.[82]

If at all times our native workmen tried to give to these reliquaries—however various their shape—a graceful form, not unoften did they task their best wits and bestow upon these church appliances the highest beauty of their craft, as they fashioned one or other of them to the whole length likeness of some favourite saint. Within such an image, the custom was to shut up the very small relics belonging to a cathedral or minster, and these little fragments may have perhaps occasionally amounted

[82] Locus quippe ille (circa Novum Castellum) et circumjacens regio diebus illis, quia raro colebatur habitatore, ciborum copiam minime habebat; et parum quod habebat, in præsidio Sancti Regis et Martyris Oswini apud Tynemudham depositum, propter exercitus regii vitandos incursus latebat. . . . Deficientibus itaque quæ emi possent vitæ necessariis, ingruente inedia, invitus (Nigellus) permisit suos Tynemudham descendere ut vitalia perquirerent. Quibus illo pervenientibus, servi Dei inibi habitantes, cum corpore Sancti Martyris (Oswini) occurrerunt, in portæ ipsius angustia, obsecrantes humilius, ut ob Sancti reverentiam parcerent Sancti deposito. . . . Videns (Nigellus) Sancti corpus adesse, Sancto deferens, ut erat militaribus instructus, animum prædandi deposuit, et equum in quo sedebat ab introitu portæ reflexit.—*Vita Oswini*, p. 22.

to a hundred, and of as many saints. The wooden (478) figure was sheathed in thin plates of silver gilt, or very gold itself, studded with gems, and coloured with gay enamelling. Thus to relics however tiny, was fitting respect shown, at the same time that they were kept from being lost or scattered; and the image which held them, became an ornament to that church where it stood within its own curtained tabernacle, and added splendour to those processions in which it happened to be carried.[83]

(479) If, then, besides the small but elegant reliquary, the large chest-like gabled coffin that held all its saint's bones was carried in procession at certain festivals, it is clear that while most of the shrines in England were so heavy they could not be stirred, and became still further tightly fastened

[83] Est in monasterio Glastoniensi imago quædam in sanctæ Dei genitricis veneracionem decenter fabricata. . . . Hanc processu temporis ymaginem Dominus Johannes Chynnok abbas argento et auro lapidibusque preciosis adornans decenter vestivit, multas reliquias infra eandem condens quæ eciam in solempnioribus anni festis, in sacris processionibus cum ceteris reliquiis venerabiliter circumfertur.—John Glaston., *Hist. de Reb. Glaston.*, ed. Hearne, p. 46. "Myself," says Sir Thomas More, "at the abbay of Barking besydes London, to my remembraunce about xxx yeres past, in the setting an old ymage in a new tabernacle, the back of the image being al painted over, and of long tyme before laid with beaten gold, happened to crase in one place, and out there fell a prety littel dore, at which fell out also many reliques that had lien unknowen in that ymage God wote how long. And as longe had been likely to lie agayne, if God by that chaunce had not brought them to light. The bishop of London came then thyther to se there were no deceite therin. And I amonge other was present there while he loked theron and examined the matter." —*Works*, London, 1557, p. 192.

by those strong iron cramps which bound them to the stone-work upon which they stood, some of them at least must have been made so light and left moveable on purpose that they should be lifted up and borne about on the shoulders of the clergy; and what is more, held so high at the church door, that all, in coming back thither with the procession, could, by slightly stooping, walk under them.[84] From the fact that such a ceremony was set forth in the Sarum ritual,[85] each of our larger churches must, to follow out the rubric, have had belonging to it a portable shrine. We know that at Durham Cathedral (480) "there was, on the south syde, betwixt two pillers, a goodly monument, all of blew marble, the hight of a yeard from the ground, supported with v pillers, in every corner one; and under the mydest one, and above the said throwghe of marble pillers, did stand a second shrine to Saint Cuthbert, wherin the bones of the holie man Saint Beede was inshrined, being accustomed to be taiken downe every festival daie, when there was any solempne Procession, and

[84] Sanctæ Ascensionis Domini dies solennis imminebat, quæ ab incolis festivius feriabatur; quoniam eo die reliquiæ sancti (Joannis Beverlacensis), post peractum tantæ solennitatis consonum processionis officium, ad introitum ecclesiæ sustentari honorifice solebant, donec clerus et populus humili devotione transisset. . . . Præfatus æger se sub feretro in vehiculo jussit deferri ut ultimus transiret: quem ut umbra capselli in quo sanctum corpus ferebatur, obumbravit, cœpit paulatim convalescere, &c.—*Miracula S. Joannis Beverlacen.* in *AA. SS. Maji*, ii. 177.

[85] See the rubric for the ceremonies on Palm Sunday, *Use of Sarum*, i. 59; and for the Ascension, *ibid.*, p. 175.

caried with iiij Monnckes in tyme of Procession and devine service, which being ended they did convey it into the Gallely, and sett it upon the said tumbe againe with great reverence, havinge a faire rich cover of wainscott verie curiously gilted and appointed to drawe up and downe over the shrine, as they list to showe the sumptuousness therof." [86]

Whenever a cathedral or a minster needed being rebuilt, or wanted repairing, to go about the diocese and gather the alms of the faithful for such a (481) worthy purpose, the bishop picked out, from among his clergy, a few preachers, and along with them he sent a saint's shrine, to be carried, from place to place, by young clerks in procession throughout the country. On reaching a town, these relics were forthwith taken to the church, and left upon one of its altars during the stay there: the preachers, in turn, spoke to the crowds who flocked thither; and those of the people who could afford to give, threw their offerings upon the altar whereon stood the shrine, or cast them down on the ground just before it.[87] Both whilst

[86] *Rites of Durham*, p. 38. Hugh Pudsey caused this rich shrine to be made: "Feretrum quoque ex auro et argento, in quo ossa Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri et doctoris ferre decrevit (Hugo ep. Dunelmensis) ex studio artificum tanta diligentia compositum, ut quid magis in eo præstet, opus an decor attrectantibus merito veniat in dubium."—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. 11. St. William's shrine, in York Cathedral, was portable.—*Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1206.

[87] Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus . . . ecclesiæ ipsius terminos dilatare longius inchoaverat. Unde fratrem quendam ecclesiæ,

the mission went abroad (482) and came home again in grand processional array with the shrine, the cathedral's bells, as did those in every steeple of that city, rang out their fullest most solemn peal.[88]

But of all such-like processions, the most formal, as well as impressive and magnificent, was the one made at

The Translation of Saints' Relics.

Whensoever the Almighty deigns to do now as He did of old, and work wonders by the copes and chasubles once belonging to holy priests and bishops

Alanum nomine, cum clericis in prædicatione direxerat, et non modicam de Beati Cuthberti panno particulam eis cum cæteris reliquiarum portionibus dari præceperat (Reginald, *De S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 215). Modernis diebus, dum episcopus Dunelmensis ecclesiæ Beati Cuthberti fines studuit dilatando protendere, cœpit, pro elemosinis fidelium colligendis, quosdam prædicatores cum præelectissima sanctarum reliquiarum portione in diocesi sua circumquaque dirigere. Quodam vero tempore, dum dies sollempnis confluente illuc populo extitit, custos illarum una cum clero huic ministerio secum deserviente ad ecclesiam matricem in Dunelmo convenit. Collocata igitur theca eburnea cum sacris reliquiis super altare deforis in finibus aquilonis, custodes præcipui ipsarum refectionis tempore domum pransuri redibant. Erat tunc temporis in theca ipsa B. Cuthberti casula, per undenos annos cum corpore illius incorrupto in sepulcro posita, &c. Hora tunc forte eadem, quidam advenerat qui ad sacras illas reliquias pro munere devotionis denarium illic obtulerat.—*Ibid.*, p. 77. The offerings in money thrown at the foot of a shrine, are shown in our picture, p. 321.

[88] Si contingat quod feretrum debeat per aliquas partes remotas dioecesis ad elemosinas colligendas deportari, solempnis debet fieri pulsatio, quando feretrum affertur et quando refertur, &c.—*Statuta et Ordin. Ecc. Cathedr. Lichfeldensis*, in *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1257.

of the New Law, as He wrought during the time of the synagogue through the prophet's mantle;[89] whensoever to the bones of His departed servants under the Second Dispensation, He lends a power not their own of healing the sick and quickening the dead, as it pleased Him to do under the First Covenant, by the lifeless, buried bones of Eliseus,[90] (483) then His spouse the Church shows, as she has always shown, how she cares for the remains of those her children, whom their and our Lord has so strikingly honoured. As soon, therefore, as the holiness, whilst in the flesh, of one of God's dead servants, had been juridically proved before the Roman pontiff, and that head of Christ's church on earth had, in the exercise of a ghostly supremacy, not only of honour, but authority and jurisdiction,[91] by divine (484) right belonging to

[89] 4 (2) Kings, ii. 14.

[90] *Ibid.*, xiii. 21.

[91] That such a spiritual supremacy, canonically exercised, has ever been admitted by God's Church in these islands, from its very beginning among our forefathers, may be easily shown. Of the Britons' times, we hope, ere long, to bring forward the proofs in another work; of Ireland, we have already told her affirmative teaching on this point, in our answer to the question, *Did the Early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy?* Concerning the Anglo-Saxon period, there can be no manner of doubt but that such a Catholic doctrine was truly held and practised all through it. Pope St. Gregory was looked upon and honoured as their apostle by the Anglo-Saxons, who kept his festival as a high holyday, put his name into the public litanies (*Concil. Cloveshov.* can. xvii., De festivitate colend. SS. Gregorii et Augustini, in Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 97), and sang hymns in his praise during the Church services, after this sort:—

Alma Gregori meritis precipue
Pater Anglorum doctor et apostole

his chair, canonised that happy individual, the first thing done preparatory to the (485) trans-

Nos semper tuis adjuva suffragiis
Ut tecum vite perfruamur bravio.

—*The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Surtees Soc., vol. xxiii. 129). Without any the least understanding or consultation on the matter with the civil authorities, all the several kingdoms of Anglo-Saxondom were distributed into two ecclesiastical provinces by the same holy pontiff (Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 29), who thus also set up bishops' sees everywhere about the country.—*Ælfric's Homilies*, ii. 133. This great pope's successors not only exercised of themselves, but were often asked by the Anglo-Saxons to exercise, a like supreme authority. By the pope was every archbishop as well as bishop either appointed or confirmed. To Rome did each archbishop go in person (*AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 355), or when unable, send an especial messenger for his pall (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 735, 736, 764, 780, &c.). To Rome were carried, as to the last and highest tribunal, all disputes about faith, morals, or discipline, as was exemplified in the instances of St. Wilfrid, abp. of York (Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, xxix.–xxxii. [*R.S.*, lxxi. i. 40–47]; Tatwin, abp. of Canterbury—*Abb. Chron. R. de Diceto*, ed. Twysden, i. 443; St. Egwin;—*AA. SS. Januarii*, i. 708); and St. Neot (*ibid. Julii*, vii. 323). As soon as Rome ratified any synodical decrees, they were received and promulgated by Anglo-Saxon councils. Whenever the pope sent hither a legate to inquire about ghostly things, willingly was that official received—*A. S. Chron.*, A.D. 785 [*R.S.*, xxiii. i. 97], and as readily listened to; and if a council happened to be held, or he himself called one, while he was in England, he sat in it as its head. But besides all this, the formal recognition of the papal supremacy by church and state—not only by the bishops, but also by the king, was made in the council of Calcuith (A.D. 787); for not only one of its decrees entitled "Ut privilegia a Pontifice Romano concessa observantur" enacts "ut privilegia antiqua a sancta Romano sede delata, ecclesiis omnibus conserventur" (Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 147), but the papal legate, in the copy of those decrees meant to be sent to Rome, tells the pope "tam rex (Offa) quam principes sui, archiepiscopus cum sociis suis in manu nostra in vice Domini ("Dominii" Spelman reads) vestri signum sanctæ crucis firmaverunt et rursum præsentem chartulam sacro signo roboraverunt."—*Ibid.* 151. In accordance with such a belief, the pope was always prayed for in the Anglo-Saxon liturgy, as we have already instanced (vol. ii. p. 289), and may be seen in

lation of his or her relics, was to get ready a sumptuous shrine. But the search after gems

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the following: Pietate tua, quesumus, domine, nostrorum solue uincula peccatorum, et intercedente beata maria cum omnibus sanctis tuis, papam nostrum, regemque nostrum et reginam nostram, et episcopos nostros uel abbates nostros, una cum omnibus congregationibus et famulis sibi commissis in omni sanctitate custodi, &c.—*Leofric Missal*, 251. Why the Roman pontiff's name is put first in all these forms of prayer, is thus accounted for by the Anglo-Saxon who wrote his short work on the Mass, and in commenting on those words of the canon, "una cum famulo tuo papa nostro," says:—Quia ipse vice apostolica capud (*sic*) est ecclesiæ, ideo primus nominatur.—*De Ordine Missæ*, MS. Bodl. Hatton 93, fol. 20^{v}.

The exercise of such a spiritual supremacy which the Anglo-Saxons acknowledged in the Roman pontiff over themselves, stretched its authority, they maintained, to the uttermost bounds of the earth: in him they beheld that vessel of election, that chosen head, which God had set over the whole Church. In his letter to the pope, whom he calls "Domino in Domino dominorum dilectissimo terque beatissimo Papæ Gregorio," Huertbercht says:—Gratias agere non cesso Dispensationi superni examinis . . . quod te nostris temporibus tam glorificum electionis vas regimini totius ecclesiæ præficere dignata est (*Hist. Abb. Gyrv.* auct. anon., in *Ven. Beda Opp. Hist. Minora*, ed. Stevenson, § 30, p. 329). The writer of these lives is earlier than Beda. The following extract, if not from the pen of St. Beda himself, is from that of a monk of Wearmouth, almost that saint's contemporary: Ad beatorum Apostolorum limina [Romam] peregrinaturus advolavit (Benedictus Biscopus) ut quia rudis adhuc in gente Anglorum fides et ecclesiarum institutio florebat, ibi potius perfectam vivendi formam sumeret, ubi per summos Christi Apostolos totius Ecclesiæ caput eminet eximium.—*Sermo in Natale S. Benedicti, ibid.*, p. 336 [*P.L.*, xciv. 226]. This headship of the bishop of Rome over all the churches of the world, was not only believed by the Anglo-Saxons at home, but zealously taught by them whenever they went abroad to preach to the heathen and bring them within the pale of Christendom. This is strongly instanced in the teaching of our illustrious and sainted countryman St. Boniface, who, in writing to Cuthberht, archbishop of Canterbury, concerning a council he had just held, tells him: Decrevimus autem in nostro synodali conventu, et confessi sumus fidem Catholicam, et unitatem et subjectionem Romanæ ecclesiæ, fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle

and (486) precious stones for studding the golden sides of such a costly reliquary, as well as the

servare: sancto Petro, et vicario ejus velle subjici . . . metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quærere; et per omnia, præcepta Sancti Petri canonice sequi desiderare. . . . Sic enim, ni fallor, omnes episcopi debent metropolitano, et ipse Romano pontifici, si quid de corrigendis populis apud eos impossibile est, notum facere (*Epist. S. Bonifacii ad Cuthbertum Archiep. Cantuariensem*, in *Opp.* ed. Giles, i. 140). Correlative with this tenet of the papal supremacy there is another Catholic doctrine—the oneness of belief—so akin to it, that, like twins in one body, they must live and be together: cut off either from the other, and both die. This oneness of belief, stretching itself throughout the world, no writer has laid down in stronger words than our own Anglo-Saxon Beda, in several of his works. Commenting on the Canticle of Canticles, that father says: Cella vinaria ecclesia debet intelligi, in cujus unitate solummodo Spiritus Sanctus dari solet, et accipi. Introduxit ergo dilectus amicam suam in cellam vinariam, quia Dominus ecclesiam de toto orbe collectam, in unam sibi domum fabricavit, quam sui Spiritus charismate consecravit (*Expos. in Can. Cantic.*, ii. [*P.L.*, xci. 1104]. Again, in the same place, making the words of St. Gregory the Great his own by adopting them, Beda cries out: Quid per mala punica, nisi fidelium unitas designatur? Nam sicut in malo punico, uno exterius cortice, multa interius grana muniuntur; sic innumeros sanctæ ecclesiæ populos unitas fidei contegit, quos intus diversitas meritorum tenet.—*Ibid.*, vii. [1232]. Had Beda lived in these our days, thoroughly shocked would have been that learned saint at finding, in this land, men whose novel rule of faith is drawn up not after the old word of God, but to coincide with a system of geography—men who think, or strive to think, that the Church, the kingdom of Christ which is not of this world, is to be parcelled out into separate and different divisions and sects, each the length of its own earthly king's sceptre, so that a ridge of hills, a river, or a frith, should not only form the boundaries of an empire's sway, but also the limits within which certain articles of faith are to be believed, and beyond which those same articles may and ought to be denied—men who hold that the papal supremacy must be unfalteringly acknowledged by all those born and living in Italy, France, Spain, Flanders, and other parts of Christendom, but forsooth ought to be spurned and gainsaid by their own selves because they are Englishmen, and happen to have had their birthplace in an island separated from the before-named countries by a few miles of sea in the Straits of

nice workmanship (487) bestowed upon its exquisitely wrought crest, its high and low reliefs, and its rows of little statues, (488) often took up many years.[92] When, however, a day, though still far off, had been fixed on, the (489) king, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, together with all the highest nobles of the land, were bidden to the ceremony; and of them, every one who could, came and brought along with him a long and glittering train of followers. Crowds also of dignified clergymen and other clerks, as well as thousands of lay-folks, hied thither: on some remarkable instances—such as the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury's relics from their first grave in the undercroft of that cathedral—not only men but women flocked over to our shores from different parts of Christendom in such large numbers as to awaken the astonishment of Englishmen,

Dover. To men so bewildered, who seem to liken Christ's Church to Joseph's patched coat of many colours, rather than Christ's own seamless garment, we would address those words which our illustrious Anglo-Saxon countryman, the same Beda, puts into the mouth of our Lord, whom he makes to speak thus unto His spouse, His Church: Tota quidem forma tui corporis, quo per mundum longe lateque dilataris, O ecclesia catholica, pulchra mihi et immaculata appares; sed hoc est quod me præ cæteris ad te amandam mirifice accendit, quia unitatem ejusdem fidei ac dilectionis et in præclaris fidelibus, ac in subjectis habere probaris. Hoc est quod me ad excipiendum pro tua vita vulnus mortis adduxit. Quia te in omnibus membris tuis, et in majoribus scilicet, et in minoribus, et fortioribus, et mediocribus unitati studere desiderabam, ut uno in omnibus, atque indissimili sensu ad illam tenderes vitam, in qua unitas veræ pacis regnat et gloriæ.—*Expos. in Can. Cantic.*, iv. [*P.L.*, xci. 1139, 1140].

[92] See p. 322, note 67.

who, till then, had never beheld so many people gathered together at one spot in this island.[93] On the eve of (490) the function, a rite used to be performed, to which only a favoured few were admitted: the new shrine was solemnly blessed and anointed on the inside at its four corners by the bishop;[94] this done, by the same bishop's hands were the saint's bones reverently washed in water, and each of them wrapped up in its own towel of the whitest finest linen; and then about the whole were folded silken palls of the most

[93] Hoc anno (1220), nonis Julii, translatum est corpus gloriosi martyris Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi a venerabili viro S[tephano] . . . de crypta ecclesiæ, ubi jacuerat fere per l. annos, ad eminentiorem locum, videlicet retro majus altare ecclesiæ, et reconditum in loculo ex auro et argento miro opere constructo, gemmisque pretiosis mirifice insignito. Ad cujus translationem tam grandis conventus utriusque sexus de diversis mundi partibus convenerat, ut nunquam retroactis temporibus, ut dicitur, tam magna multitudo hominum ad unum locum in Anglia coadunata fuerat.—*Annales Waverleienses*, ed. Gale, ii. 185 [*R.S.*, xxxvi. ii. 293].

[94] In benedictione Scrinii vel arche reliquiarum, vel sanctorum. Induatur episcopus sicut in consecracione altaris, &c. Tunc ab episcopo fiat benedictio salis et aque, prout dicitur in dominicis diebus, et cum ipsa aqua aspergat scrinium, &c. Tunc lavetur scrinium aqua benedicta et abstergatur lintheo, canendo antiphonam, *Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi, in protectione Dei celi commorabitur.* Oratio. *Domine Deus omnipotens . . . benedic, nobis obsecrantibus, hoc scrinium vel hanc capsam quod vel quam in tuo sancto nomine consecramus, ad tuorum sanctorum sancta continenda, et, te benedicente, ad plenum sit sanctificatum, quatenus cunctorum hic precamina fundentium preces exaudiantur, et a te pissimo remuneratore omnium peccatorum purgari squaloribus et in perpetuum tueri mereantur.* Tunc lavet scrinium vel capsam intrinsecus in quatuor locis cum oleo sancto crismate mixto, &c.—*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Barnes, p. 231. Postea retro dantur reliquie in scrinio cantando antiphonam *Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt, et vivent nomina eorum in eternum, &c.*—*Ibid.*, p. 233.

costly kind.[95] The early morning of (491) the morrow looked down upon a church already crammed to the furthest corner—upon a churchyard and streets and lanes and fields around trodden by feet that had walked from afar, and been restless all night. But lo! the bells send forth their most gladsome peal; a stir is seen among the crowd; and amid all that sea of heads, there is not one but is bared and unhooded in a moment, for reared high aloft is now beheld coming quite a little host of tall gold and silver crosses; after these a long, long line of monks in their habits, of priests, deacons, and subdeacons, clothed in their respective vestments, and holding lighted tapers in their (492) hands, is threading its slow way amid the throng; then follow a multitude of abbots, bishops, and archbishops, with blazing wax torches, and arrayed in richly embroidered copes and jewelled mitres. Behind

[95] At the finding (A.D. 1065) of the body of St. Oswin, King of Northumberland and martyr, it was first washed and then enshrined; and of the water used on the occasion, we are told: Lavatur autem a præsule corpus sacri sanguinis effusione Deo dicatum, et lotum primo mundissimis involvitur lintheis, deinde palliis preciosis, et in mausoleo cum magno honore reconditum in eminentiori ecclesiæ loco collocatur. Lavacrum igitur quo ablutum est corpus sanctissimum, in angulo oratorii ad aquilonem episcopo ex industria præcipiente transfusum est. Quod multis postea profuit, non solum hominibus sed etiam animalibus variis morborum generibus laborantibus. Nam quotiens sontico vel interpolato morbo gravabatur vel hominum vel animalium natura pulvis sacro lavachro conspersus, modico aquæ injectus, et a languente aqua mediante haustus, citissimam conferebat sanitatem et collatam protractius conservabat.—*Vita Oswini*, p. 14.

comes floating widely all around, like a thick, silvery, sweet-smelling mist, the up-curling smoke of incense breathed forth from scores of golden thuribles, swung to and fro by a circle of youths,

Translation of the Relics of St. Alban

who encompass a chosen band. Ever and anon, athwart this deep white cloud of fragrance, the twinklings from precious stones are seen, and a glimpse is caught of the golden panels on the shrine.[96] But who are the bearers of that precious

[96] Abbatum, sacerdotum, monachorum adunato cœtu, cum innumera utriusque sexus plebe, illam pretiosissimam corporis glebam, palam cunctis revelatam, in eminentiorem monasterii locum transtulerunt, præmissis variis cereorum facibus, et sanctæ crucis vexillis, cum thuribulis thymiamata vaporantibus magnæ æstimationis, monachus præibat caput viri (S. Guthlaci) Dei intra pyxidem crystallis et margaritis distinctam bajulans. Universi sequentes canticorum divinorum laudes dulci modulatione canentes et diversis linguarum choris clamorem consonum' reddentes, sonantibus organis hymnorum qui ad laudem Regis æterni decantantur, summo favore omnes plaudebant.—*Translatio S. Guthlaci*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 56.

load? The king himself is one, his nearest of kin, his proudest barons are with him, and upon their shoulders[97] do they carry the bones of that holy (493) man who in life was perhaps the lowliest individual in the kingdom. Hymns are chaunted to the sound of a hundred harps and psalteries: the crowd takes up the song; Englishmen and foreigners speak the overflowing gladness of their hearts, each in his own tongue, but all the thousands there uplift their voices, which mingle into one loud swelling chorus of praise and thanksgiving to God for His goodness to His creatures. Of

The Beatification and Canonisation of Saints,

a word or two here may not be beside our present subject.

From the earliest ages, each bishop, by virtue of his episcopal authority, could (and did) inquire into the life and deeds of such as died with the reputation of extraordinary holiness, in his diocese —into the miracles said to have been wrought by their intercession whilst they lived, or at the graves wherein their bodies lay buried. If found to have been children after God's own heart, and high examples of Christian perfection worthy of

[97] See notes 49, 50, on pp. 309, 310.

being followed, by holding them up as such to the people immediately under his pastoral care, the bishop proclaimed those departed servants of Christ to be happy in heaven,—saints; and as such, to be honoured and invoked. But, like his jurisdiction, a bishop's authoritative sentence of beatification reached no further than the limits of his own diocese. As, however, the love for a good man's (494) memory often spreads as wide as the fame of his virtues, the devotion towards provincial models of good life crept by little and little throughout the land. Hence happened it that this kind of local canonisation, or the enrolling of a holy person among the saints, by one individual bishop for the edification of his own flock, from being adopted by the rest of the bishops one after the other, for their respective people, in any kingdom, became, as it were, an act of national canonisation, and got to be more so still by the decrees of provincial synods, which commanded the keeping of the saint's festival, and by the consequent insertion of the saint's name in the public litanies, and by giving him a place in the missals and portouses of the national Church.

What was done by one bishop for his diocese, and by all the bishops of a kingdom for the observance of their own country, the Pope, in virtue of his headship over the whole Church, did, that it might be fulfilled by every part of Christen-

dom; and those saints whom he canonised thus came to be held up to the devotion and example not merely of some, but all the faithful. Upon such a part, which they had always discharged, of their high office, the Roman pontiffs began, in the twelfth century, to bestow more particular watchfulness; as is shown by Alexander III. (1159–1181), who canonised, with much solemnity, our St. Edward the Confessor and St. Thomas of Canterbury. For many years, however, after this pontiff's time, the (495) right of beatifying—that is, declaring a holy person a saint, and decreeing that due honour might be paid him, within a particular diocese—continued to be exercised in England and everywhere else by the bishops of the church, as our countryman Friar Thomas Walden tells us, among other things, in his sound and learned overthrow of Wycliff's arguments.[98]

[98] Ideo sine trepidatione confidit ecclesia quod episcopus petit et judicat circa mortuos . . . quid impediet episcopum ne canonice inquirat de vita diutina talis sancti ut pleniorem trahat notitiam; et si eam invenerit sanctorum cultu dignam, auctoritate episcopali confidenter exprimere sanctum Dei plebibus venerandum. Et si omnis episcopus hoc habet juris, quid maxime facere poterit episcoporum episcopus?—*De Sanctis Canoniz.*, tit. xiv. cap. cxxiii., in *Opp.* vi. 263. Now, the usage everywhere is to carry all questions about the beatification as well as canonisation of saints to Rome; and the reader wishful of knowing each step taken throughout both processes, should look into Benedict XIV.'s grand work, "De Serv. Dei Beatif. et Beat. Canonizatione." The ceremonial for the occasion may be seen in the *Cæremoniale Romanum.*

was no uncommon usage in England; never practised however but on fragments, and those of small size. The shred from a saint's coarse garments, or a lock of his hair, our forefathers would fearlessly throw amid the flames: when brought (496) out unsinged, undimmed, it had gone through an ordeal which answered a twofold purpose, for while such a victorious proof did away with doubts, had any arisen, about the relic's genuineness, to the thought of those who possessed or who beheld the holy treasure, at the same time this test helped to awaken greater love towards the saint of whom it was the relic, and afforded new assurance of the strength of his intercession with God in behalf of all those who asked him to pray for and along with them.[99]

[99] Contigit autem ut comitissa . . . Judith nomine, pontifici (Ægelwino Dunelmensi episcopo) ad ecclesiam (beatæ genetricis Sanctæ Virginis Mariæ de Tynemudtha) jam properanti secreto mandaret, quatinus si, donante Deo, corpus Sancti martyris (Oswini) eum invenire contingeret quantulamcunque portionem inde pro benedictione reservaret. . . . Prædicta mulier capillos Sancti nullo loco conclusit, sed ignis purgatione prius probare disposuit, non ut in aliquo de ipsis dubitaret. . . . Accensus est itaque copiosus ignis in atrio, et impositis ignito lateri capillis, ab omnibus unanimiter ad Deum devote funditur oratio. Mira res. Nil quippe citius pilo ignis odore consumitur, et tamen immissus a fervente undique incendio pilus non læditur.—*Vita Oswini*, p. 19. Reginald the Durham monk relates two other such miracles, one with the hair, the other with a shred cut from the clothes of St. Cuthberht.—*De Admirand. S. Cuthberti Virt.*, pp. 57, 97.

But besides their bones, and the ashes from their graves—besides the clothes which they had once worn, the books they had written or prayed from, (497) the chalices they had handled, and sacerdotal garments which they had at any time worn, while offering up the great unbloody sacrifice of the new law,

Other Things

but slenderly connected with the saints, were often gazed upon with reverent eye, held in a certain respect, and

Esteemed as Though They Had Been Relics.

The very ground trodden on by St. Thomas of Canterbury, where he alighted from his horse at several little villages on the road, to give—on foot, and not on horseback, like other bishops at those times did when travelling—the sacrament of Confirmation unto those crowds of children whom their mothers brought out to him for the purpose, as he rode to London at his return from exile. On the village green of Newton, a wooden cross, put up by some unknown hand, and wooden crosses in two other hamlets, showed, for many years afterwards, the very spot itself at each of these places whereon the saint had stood the while he administered the holy rite; and those

same spots did the people behold with religious respect, and God was pleased to hallow them by miracles.[1] The rings and necklaces (498) which had been let touch the dead body of St. Richard of Chichester were looked upon as thereby sanctified, and ever after kept as relics.[2]

Many were the scoffs which the sneerer spoke against Christ's miracles and unto Christ Himself: the scorner's tongue has been busy ever since with its gibes against Christ's saints and their relics. One of the slanders by which some have tried to laugh down the respect which Christ's Church has from the beginning shown to these remains, is, that two bodies, two heads, four arms, and a multitude (499) of other limbs, have been, in different countries, passed off upon the world as the true very relics of one and the same holy

[1] In medio villæ (Niwentona, latine Nova-villa) a primis miraculorum diebus crux est erecta, sed cujus ministerio, adhuc ignoratur. Locus ille, in quo crux stat, terra sancta est, gratiis plenus, et miraculorum gloria celeberrimus. Cum enim sanctus (Thomas) ab exsilio revocatus adiret Londonias, apud Niwentonam de equo descenderat, et dum pueris manus imponeret, et chrismate confirmatis gratiæ plenitudinem adesse invocaret, eodem in loco constiterat. Non enim erat ei, ut plerisque immo ut fere omnibus episcopis moris est, ministerium confirmationis equo insidendo peragere; sed ob sacramenti reverentiam equo desilire, et stando pueris manus imponere. Sed et in aliis duobus locis, eadem de causa descendens, occurrentis populi votis devote satisfecit; in quorum singulis, propter miraculorum frequentiam et ipsius martyris in somnis admonitionem, singulæ cruces ligneæ sunt erectæ.—Benedict, *De Mirac. S. Thomæ*, iii. 64 [*R.S.*, lxvii., ii. 164, 165].

[2] Annulos sive monilia que sanctum corpus (B. Richardi) tetigerunt, sanctificata reputabant et pro reliquiis conservabant.—Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* [Horstman, ii. 336].

personage. If any such mistakes were made, they could have been committed but by very few; and they arose from such men forgetting that the town wherein they dwelt had but half the body, half the head, half of the arm, of their beloved patron saint, while the other half was kept with like honour, and enshrined at a church a long way off, in quite a different part of Christendom: either country—so far only as the unlearned yet over-zealous of its inhabitants are to be understood by the term—thinking itself gifted with the treasure of the whole body of the saint, both of them loudly boasted of their presumed possession. Out of this, grew the foolish tale of two heads, or two bodies, of the same saint. Though the men of the "new learning," in England, knew all this full well; yet the gibe, so wittingly untrue, and founded upon such popular mistakes, furnished too much help towards their unhallowed work, to be left idle: the makers of the new religion threw it therefore, often and with all their might, into the Church's face. Of her sons however there were not wanting those, whom the world loved for their truthfulness and holy life as it honoured them for their learning and lofty station, to come forth and clear their mother from the slur of being a cheat: amongst the foremost of such champions stood Sir Thomas More, who says:—"For where as ye (500) woulde take the rever-

ence from all relyques because that some be doutefull, in that some sayntes hed is as ye say, and of some the hole bodie shewed at two sondrye places, it mai fortune for al thys that of one hedde there may be sondry partes, and either parte in the comen spech of people called the hed. For at Amias is saint Johans hed the baptest, as men call it in talking, even they that have ben there and sene it. But then if they bee asked further questyon therof, thei tel that the nether iawe lacketh. This may wel happen also, and so doth it happe in dede, by some saynt of whome in two divers countries be dyvers shrines. And there be rekened and reported that in either of theim be layd the hole body, and the pilgrims at neither places do loke into the cofyn of the shrine to se whether it be al or parte."[3]

In bringing this chapter to a close, we cannot do better than speak to our Catholic readers those words uttered ages ago by one of our old English fellow Catholics:—"Brethren, let us honour the relics of the saints in such a manner as to worship Him whose servants those saints were; let us so honour the saints, that the honour begun upon them may reach and end with that Lord of theirs who is glorified in his saints, and who says of them—'he that receiveth you receiveth me.'"[4]

[3] *Works*, p. 192.

(501) We have now gone over most at least, if not all, of the articles in that belief which was held in this country, for a thousand unbroken years, as the national faith. During those ten long centuries, not merely great but organic changes were brought about here in every corner of our social life. Strangers came hither and fought and overthrew the Saxon: the old race of kings was tumbled from a throne, upon which the Norman seated himself; laws, language, customs, dress, everything of this world's fashioning, was altered. But throughout all these throes at each birth of a new state of society, it mattered not what dynasty wielded the sceptre, what hand grasped the sword; the Church never varied one smallest tittle in her teaching: it mattered not what region bred the men, who sat either in our primatial or our episcopal sees—all, and every one of our pastors, from the sainted Austin down to the forsworn Cranmer, themselves believed and taught others to believe the one same faith; all our princes, from Æthelberht to the eighth Henry, believed and upheld its tenets. Whether the Italian Austin, Theodore the Greek, Dunstan the Anglo-Saxon, Wilfrid of (502) Northumbria, the Irish Aidan, Cuthberht of Lindisfarne, Lanfranc

[4] Honoremus ergo, Fratres, sanctorum reliquias, ut eum cujus facti servi, adoremus; honoremus sanctos, ut honor servorum redundet ad Dominum de quibus ipse ait: Qui vos suscipit, me suscipit: qui est in sanctis suis gloriosus, &c.—*Translatio S. Guthlaci*, in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, ii. 57.

and Anselm the Lombards, Osmund the Norman, or Thomas the martyr and stout-hearted Englishman, sat at Canterbury, or York, or Sarum, or elsewhere—each and every one of them spoke, and wrote, and taught the self-same doctrines. What those Catholics believed in their times and places, neither more nor less do we Catholics believe in ours; and our Church now is, as it has ever been, the very same with "THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS."

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